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THE PLACE OF THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE WESTERN LITURGICAL TRADITION*

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

The theme of this address, in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the First Book of Common Prayer, may be stated in the words of the late Miss Evelyn Underhill:

Anglican worship is a special development of the traditional Christian cultus; and not merely a variant of Continental Protestantism. . . . It forms, with the Bible or Lectionary, the authorized Missal and Breviary of the English branch of the Catholic Church. Its use is obligatory, and its contents declare in unmistakable terms the adherence of that Church to the great Catholic tradition of Christendom and the general conformity of its worship to the primitive ritual type.¹

It is important to note this last phrase—"primitive ritual type"—for any discussion of liturgics must carefully distinguish between ritual and ceremonial. In matters of ceremonial Anglican worship has exhibited in the past and continues to exhibit today a great variety of usages, many of them very dissimilar from "the great Catholic tradition." This fact is due in part to the absence from the Prayer Book of very much in the way of ceremonial directions, in part to the impact of Puritan attack upon traditional customs as superstitious relics of popery. In this Puritan antagonism to ceremonial Archbishop Cranmer, the chief architect of Anglican worship, shared with full sympathy.

The ritual of the Prayer Book, i.e., the formularies authorized to be read or sung in the public liturgy, is essentially but a revision of the traditional cultus of the Western Church. It is not a fresh creation. True, some of the collects were new compositions, some of the Eucharistic lections were new appointments, and several formularies were inspired by Lutheran rites or the liturgies of the Eastern Church. But the principal substance of the Prayer Book offices, both in content and order,

*Presidential address delivered at Boston, Mass., on December 30, 1949.

1 *Worship* (Harpers, 1937), 314-15.

is directly descended from the medieval Latin service books used in England from the days of its conversion. The Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphonary, upon which the medieval English uses were based, are the obvious and unmistakable progenitors of the Book of Common Prayer. Cranmer's reforming work in liturgics stands clearly in direct continuity with similar efforts of Alcuin, Dunstan, and Osmund. The material borrowed by the Prayer Book from Lutheran *Kirchenordnungen* has been much exaggerated. As regards foreign, i.e., non-English, influences upon Cranmer's liturgical achievements a more plausible case can be made for the thesis that he owed more to Cardinal Quiñones than to Luther, or even Hermann of Cologne.² Certainly the First Prayer Book was nearer to the uses of Sarum than of Wittenberg, and it owed no debt to either Geneva or Zürich.

Inasmuch as this is an essay in liturgical origins, not in the history of doctrine, it is not our purpose to enter in to the renewal of debate, occasioned by Dom Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*, over Cranmer's Eucharistic theology or his attempt to reshape the Holy Communion rite in the Second Prayer Book according to Protestant, or more specifically Zwinglian lines. The recent monograph of Professor Cyril C. Richardson has made a definitive contribution to this issue by establishing the principal contention of Dom Dix: namely, that Cranmer did become Zwinglian in his Eucharistic doctrine.³ Furthermore, it would not be candid to deny that both the order and the contents of the Holy Communion liturgy in the 1552 Book showed marked deviations from the Western Catholic tradition, and that this circumstance was deliberately intended. But it is also fair to say that the Church of England, after the Elizabethan settlement, refused to put its official seal upon Cranmer's personal doctrine, as the small but not insignificant changes in both the 1552 rite and in the Articles of Religion make perfectly plain. Secondly, three branches of Anglicanism which have been free to revise the Prayer Book Eucharistic liturgy without interference of Parliament, have consistently returned for inspiration to the 1549 model, so that the Canon of Consecration in the Scottish, American and South African Books is nearer to the First

² See the essay, "Cranmer and Germany," of J. Dowden, *Further Studies in the Prayer Book* (Methuen, 1908), 44-71.

³ *Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist* (Evanston: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1949).

Prayer Book than to the Second.⁴ Thirdly, it should be noted that the serious alterations from tradition made in the Second Prayer Book concerned only the rite of the Holy Communion; they did not affect the other offices of the liturgy or the setting of the Eucharist within the framework of the Christian Year, except in a few unessential details.

We turn back from this intriguing problem to the tradition of Western cultus which lay behind the First Prayer Book. Its development can be only imperfectly traced. Fundamentally, of course, it rests upon the customs and practices held in common by the churches of the pre-Nicene period scattered throughout the Graeco-Roman world, of which Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* preserves for us our chief testimony. His testimony, however, can be amply supplemented by evidence from contemporary Fathers as diverse as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen, not to speak of the later liturgies and church orders of both East and West that drew heavily upon Hippolytus' treatise. But the distinctive Western tradition begins in the fourth century, though unfortunately we can trace its early course with some assurance only in the Church of Rome. We know too little of the early stages of the non-Roman liturgies of the West, other than hints of them contained in the canons of councils held in North Africa, Gaul, and Spain. It is true, the sermons of St. Augustine contain a mine of information about liturgical practices, if not about liturgical forms; but his testimonies only show that the North African tradition was but a variant of the Roman. The extant liturgical books from the Gallican churches and the Celtic churches, as also the Mozarabic rite of Spain, are all of later date than the sources we possess from Rome; and they all exhibit, with but few exceptions, signs of that penetration of Roman influence which was ultimately, after Charlemagne, to become predominant in the rites of Western Christendom.

Of primary importance in the Western development was the transfer from Greek to Latin as the liturgical language. We do not know when this happened at Rome; though it is generally supposed that the Roman Church was liturgically bilingual for about a century prior to the pontificate of

⁴ One should also note the recent Indian (1933) and Ceylon (1938) liturgies. The former shows a more marked influence upon it of the Eastern rites. See J. H. Arnold (ed.), *Anglican Liturgies* (Oxford, 1939).

Damasus I (366-84). If, as has been recently propounded, the Roman Canon of the Mass is derived from a form first set forth in Milan by St. Ambrose, then it is more than likely that Damasus was chiefly responsible for the basic Latin liturgy of the Roman Church.⁵ It may also explain the interest of Damasus in inducing St. Jerome to provide him with a new version of the Latin Scriptures for liturgical use. Greek influences continued to operate upon both the Roman and non-Roman rites of the West for several centuries after Damasus and Ambrose. But from the end of the fourth century Eastern importations were by way of adornments and enrichments rather than of essential content.⁶

The transfer of language meant not merely a stylistic change but a gradual shift of doctrinal emphasis, as the knowledge of Greek faded out in the Western world. The few philological researches made in the vocabulary of the oldest Roman formularies have shown how quickly the Latin temper in theology altered the meaning of words literally translated from the Greek. A notable example is Dom Odo Casel's discussion of the word *rationabilem* in the *Quam oblationem* section of the Roman Canon.⁷ It is a literal translation of of the Greek λογική and means simply 'spiritual' (cf. Rom. 12:1); it is so used by St. Ambrose, steeped as he was in Eastern theology, but it is not so used in Roman writers, who make it virtually synonymous with *ratam*: i. e., it becomes a legal term, signifying that which is right, fixed, and lasting.⁸ In general, the transformation of spirit that took place in the Western liturgies has been admirably expressed by Professor B. H. Jones as follows:

where the Eastern Christians sought a redemption from sin in such a transformation of human nature as should lift it above the possibility of sinning, the Western Church put its emphasis . . . upon the problem of

5 T. Klauser, "Der Uebergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Studi e testi 121; Città del Vaticano, 1946), I, 467-82.

6 Such as the Litany with *Kyrie*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Agnus Dei*, and (in the Gallican rites) the *Trisagion* and Offertory procession or Great Entrance.

7 "Ein orientalisches Kultwort in abendländischer Umschmelzung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XI (1931), 1-19.

8 Cf. T. Michels, "The Synodal Letter of Rimini and the Roman Canon Missae," *Traditio*, II (1944), 490-91. Another interesting study of this sort by Dom Michels is "Incitare in Fifth Century Liturgy," *Folia*, I (1946), 130-33.

escape from the *consequences* of sin. Latin Christianity saw the whole drama of Salvation not as a dynamic process, but as a judicial act.⁹

In other words, the Western rites became more colored with thoughts about Atonement than with those of Incarnation, with the Sacrifice of propitiation more than with the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. The emphases of St. Leo the Great gave way to those of St. Gregory the Great—and at a much later time to those of St. Anselm. I can think of no better illustration of this change of temper than the alteration made in the central petition of the Easter Collect between the time of the formulation of the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Gregorian. In the former it reads: "that we who cherish the solemnities of the Lord's Resurrection may by the renewal of thy Spirit arise from the death of the soul." In the Gregorian Sacramentary, however, this more primitive conception of the mysterious transfiguration of the faithful through the indwelling Spirit of the risen Lord is removed altogether in favor of a petition centered upon the doctrine of Grace: "that, as by thy special grace preventing us thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect."

Archbishop Cranmer shared with his fellow Protestant Reformers on the Continent a definite repudiation of the late medieval interpretation of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice—"in the which it was commonly said," to quote the English Articles, "that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt." Though it is fair to say that the official teaching of the Latin Church never sanctioned so bald a theory of a fresh immolation of Christ in every Mass, it is no less true that the general practice of medieval religion tended to derogate from the primitive doctrine of the sole sufficiency of Christ's one offering on the Cross by its emphasis upon the merits of Masses offered in satisfaction not only for sins in this present life but also for relief from the penalties of sin to be expiated in Purgatory. Unlike his fellow Reformers, however, Cranmer did not allow his liturgical revisions of his inherited Eucharistic rite to dwell so exclusively upon the Atonement of

9 *The Heritage of the First Book of Common Prayer* (Diocese of Tennessee, 1949), 5.

Christ's passion, upon sin and the means whereby it is forgiven and its consequences removed.

In the Prayer of Consecration in the First Prayer Book, Cranmer freely paraphrased the old Roman Canon; but he kept sufficiently close to it so as to bring out its original meaning. In addition, he had studied carefully the principal Eastern liturgies—those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom—with the result that the central prayer of his liturgy was suffused with what may be called a dynamic, rather than a juridical conception of redemption. Thus there was achieved a fine balance of emphasis. Faithful in the main to the Western tradition's centering of attention upon obtaining "remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion," Cranmer's Prayer of Consecration also points up the ancient idea of a "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," and the Eastern interest in the mutual indwelling of Christ and his Church in one "Mystical body." At the same time, Cranmer made his Protestant sympathies unmistakably clear by his phrase: "who made there (by his one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world." Yet this very 'Protestant' phrase betrays an undeviating continuity with the Western absorption in the doctrine of Atonement.

Another illustration of the Prayer Book's treatment of the Western liturgical tradition can be drawn from an examination of its Burial offices. The note of solemn joy and triumph, which characterized the ancient Church's rites for the departed, became very much overcast in medieval times by the gloomy thoughts of Purgatory. The simplification of the almost unbroken series of offices from death to grave, which marked the medieval practice, was certainly one of Cranmer's finer achievements; namely, their reduction to three basic offices, a committal service, a single office corresponding to the old Vespers of the Dead, and a single Requiem. But more significant was the restoration of the note of assurance and trust and hope to their formularies, by such devices as the opening sentence of the procession ("I am the resurrection and the life," etc.), the introduction of I Corinthians 15 as a lesson in the Church office, or the magnificent new Collect for the Requiem centered in thoughts of the resurrection of the body. True, he retained in the Com-

mittal service the medieval anthem, attributed to Notker of St. Gall, with its piteous plea of "deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death" and "suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee." But with the excision of all suggestions of Purgatory, these petitions were freed from foreboding. The Prayer Book offices for the departed were nearer akin to those of the great patristic age of the fourth and fifth centuries than to those of the author of the *Dies Irae*. Yet from the viewpoint of form and structure they were continuous with the medieval offices.

To this point we have attempted to suggest that the Book of Common Prayer was conceived of as an endeavor to return to the classic norms and conceptions of the Western Church, at the time of its creative formulation of its liturgical practice, when it was still in close touch with Eastern theology but at the same time was developing its own peculiar manner of emphasis in matters doctrinal. In his famous preface to the First Prayer Book, Cranmer made his appeal for the liturgy not solely on the basis of its conformity to Scripture but also of its return to the "godly and decent order of the ancient fathers." Of his liturgical and patristic learning there is no question. Strype said "that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages,"¹⁰ and this judgment is confirmed by the catalogue of his books, albeit very incomplete, made years ago by Edward Burbidge.¹¹ He was acquainted with the Greek Fathers in their original tongue, and, as we have already remarked, he knew the Greek liturgies. The catalogue of his books does not contain the name of Leo the Great, but it does include the other chief Latin Fathers: Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. A student and scholar by temperament and experience, he was eminently qualified for the work of revision of the liturgy along lines such as we have indicated.

Probably the most characteristic feature of the Western rites, as distinct from the Eastern tradition, is their constant variability in chants, lessons, and (especially) the prayers for the changing days and seasons of the Christian Year. In the Gallican rites the very Canon of Consecration in the Mass varied in wording with every celebration. Whether this was ever true of

10 J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (1694), I, 630. I have used the reprint of the Ecclesiastical History Society (Oxford, 1854), III, 376.

11 *Liturgies and Offices of the Church* (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1886), xvii-xxxii.

the Roman Canon is highly doubtful, though it is not without traces of variability on certain major holy days; and it may well be that the Preface to the *Sanctus* was originally always proper to the day. (The Leonine Sacramentary has 267 proper Prefaces, and this is generally considered a rather 'pure' Roman service book—though in actuality it is a representative of North Italian usage.) The origin of this circumstance of the Western rites is very obscure. It is possible that it represents a survival of the free, extemporaneous prayer of the celebrant—"according to his ability," as St. Justin Martyr spoke of it—in primitive times. Dom Gregory Dix, however, surmises that it did not develop until the latter part of the fifth century, when the Calendar of seasons and holy days was already well advanced, and that Pope Gelasius I (492-96) may have been the originator.¹² In any event, the Western peculiarity of a set of variables for each Mass is very different from the Eastern use of fixed liturgies which may be employed alternatively.

What interests us here is not so much the causes and occasions of this Western peculiarity, as the extraordinary fertility of its production. There are no two Western service books, even from the same locale, that are exactly alike in contents. This is true of Rome itself. The *Liber Pontificalis* relates of several popes of the fifth and sixth centuries that they issued sacramentaries and antiphonaries; and we have extant variant lectionary lists emanating from the Roman Church in the seventh and eighth centuries. The period of formulation and crystallization of the liturgy in the West extended over a lengthy period of experimentation, and of much borrowing of usages and formularies among the several churches. Roman service books naturally enjoyed especial prestige—the impact of the Gelasian Sacramentary in the Gallican churches is sufficient testimony to the fact. But Rome itself borrowed, and that, too, before Alcuin's work of synthesis which was to become the basis of medieval Missals.

A good example is the season of Advent—one of the peculiar and most distinctive seasons of the Western Christian Year. Fr. J. A. Jungmann has demonstrated that the season was first developed in the Gallican churches as an ascetical preparation for Epiphany; i.e., before the Gallican churches had

12 *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Daere Press, 1945), 531 ff. Dom Dix does not consider that monastic worship was responsible; see pp. 333-34.

adopted the Roman feast of Christmas Day. Rome adopted the season sometime in the sixth century, but limited the length of the season to four Sundays and gave greater stress to the liturgical than to the ascetical aspects of the season; and, of course, it made it a preparation for Christmas, not Epiphany.¹³ The Gelasian Sacramentary, however, has five Sundays in Advent, albeit these are tacked on at the end of the Church Year as though they were an addition of a later time. But the Gregorian had only four Sundays, and this became fixed in later usage. But relics of the longer Gallican Advent survived. And no better illustration of it can be found than the 'Sunday next before Advent' of the Sarum Missal, with its Advent propers, which passed into the Book of Common Prayer.

Indeed, a comparison of the Advent propers in the Sarum and in the Roman Missals with those in the Prayer Book will serve, I believe, as the best illustration of the liturgical tradition behind the Prayer Book. It is a tradition which is basically Roman, but with free adaptations from non-Roman usages. This tradition goes directly back to St. Augustine of Canterbury and his fellow-monks who landed in Kent in 597 for their great work of evangelization of the English people.

Augustine brought with him the Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphony. At least, this is the testimony of Archbishop Egbert of York;¹⁴ and it is implied, at any rate, in the questions which Augustine sent to Pope Gregory regarding the propriety of adopting non-Roman usages in the liturgy of his newly founded see of Canterbury.¹⁵ Yet, if Bede is to be trusted, and there is no reason not to do so, Augustine and his companions had already adopted the Gallican Rogation processions. The antiphon which they sang as they first entered Ethelbert's royal city is one found in the Rogation processions of Vienne, the place of origin of the Rogation days and observances.¹⁶

At Canterbury Augustine established a liturgical tradition

13 *Gewordene Liturgie, Studien und Durchblicke* (Innsbruck, 1941), 232-94 ('Advent u. Voradvent').

14 *De institutione catholica dialogus* (P. L. 89, 441).

15 Bede, *Hist. eccl.* i. 27.

16 Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, III, 189. See the essay of H. A. Wilson on the liturgy used by Augustine, in A. J. Mason (ed.), *The Mission of St Augustine to England according to the Original Documents* (Cambridge, 1897), 235-52. Also F. Cabrol, *L'Angleterre chrétienne avant les Normands* (Paris, 1909), 291 ff. The use of these Rogationtide antiphons is the basis for W. Bright's inference that Augustine arrived "in the Ascension week of 597"—*Chapters of Early English Church History* (3d ed.; Oxford, 1897), 55.

closely modelled on that of Rome, so far as local conditions and resources would permit. It is noteworthy that he dedicated his cathedral Church to Christ the Saviour, the same as the dedication of the Lateran basilica at Rome. Outside the city he built his monastery next to a church erected in honor of SS. Peter and Paul, and there the archbishops and kings were buried, exactly as at St. Peter's in Rome, where since Leo the Great's time the popes had been interred. Nonetheless his first church in Canterbury was the queen's chapel, an old British church dedicated to St. Martin, the patron saint of the Gallican church; here he and his monks "first began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize." So there can not be much doubt that Augustine's Roman liturgy was from the beginning enriched by Gallican traditions.¹⁷

It is unfortunate that we do not possess among the numerous Sacramentaries of the seventh and eighth centuries an exemplar which can be definitely identified as coming from England. We may assume that such men as Wilfrid and Biscop brought with them from Rome rather pure copies of the Gregorian Sacramentary; but the varied places of origin from which the evangelizers of the English came make it fairly certain that there was much diversity of usage among the churches of the heptarchy. It would be particularly interesting to know what liturgical tradition Theodore of Tarsus followed, for he was a man of a large mind and open to the adoption of customs which he considered good and useful, whatever their source. But the only liturgical manuscript we have from these early days of English Christianity is the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York, and this is basically a Roman book.¹⁸ We also possess the canons of the Council of Cloveshoo, held in 747, demanding that "in the office of Baptism, in the celebration of Masses, and in the manner of chanting," as well as in the festivals of the Church Year the parishes should follow the written exemplar of the Roman Church.¹⁹ The very fact that such a canon needed to be passed is proof of an existing variety of liturgical books—

17 Bede, *Hist. eccl.* i. 26, 33. See C. R. Peers, "The Earliest Churches in England," *Antiquity* III (1929), 65-74, and A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (Oxford, 1930).

18 See F. Cabrol, "Egbert," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, IV, 2211-20.

19 A. W. Haddon and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-71), III, 367.

doubtless some of those mixed Sacramentaries, or what Dom Mohlberg has called the Gelasian of the eighth century.²⁰

Archbishop Egbert's pupil, Alcuin, was the architect of Charlemagne's settlement of the liturgical problem of overmuch diversity in service books in the Western Church. His solution was thoroughly Western and as characteristically English. He took Pope Hadrian's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary and enriched it with Gelasian and Gallican material. He must have had access to a rich store of liturgical manuscripts, gathered both in England and on the Continent. His own compilation of a Sacramentary of Votive Masses for the daily devotions of priests has gathered together many prayers from sources now lost to us; and very possibly some of them came from those Roman, or at least Italian, sacramentaries issued in such profuseness in the sixth and seventh centuries. For example the Collect which he set to the Votive Mass of the Trinity cannot be traced to an earlier extant source, but it is very similar to a proper Preface found in both the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries. Similarly, the Collect of his Mass for the Grace of the Holy Spirit is unmistakably Roman in structure and style. Where he found it we do not know, but somehow it passed into the form of preparation before Mass to be found in the Sarum Missal, and from thence Cranmer took it to serve as the invocation of his Holy Communion rite in the Prayer Book. It is the most familiar of all the Prayer Book Collects ("Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open," etc.).

We could repeat the same story of adaptation of received tradition in the case of the revival associated with the name of Dunstan. The few Missals that survive from the late Anglo-Saxon period are importations from the Low Countries—Gregorian in substance. Philip Grierson has noted, for example, that the Leofric Missal (so named because it was presented by Leofric, first bishop of Exeter, to his cathedral church) was brought to England by Dunstan from the monastery of St. Vaast's, an abbey which played a notable part, incidentally, in the formation of the coronation rites of England and France.²¹

20 C. Mohlberg, "Il messale glagolitico di Kiev (Sec. IX) ed il suo prototipo romano del Sec. VI-VII," *Atti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, Serie III, *Memorie* II (1928), 207-320.

21 "The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, XXIII (1941), 71, 112. Cf. J. W. Legg *Missale ad usum ecclesie West-monasteriensis* III (London, 1897), 1423.

The various diocesan uses which developed in England after the Norman Conquest are too well-known to need recounting here. Cranmer was acquainted with all of them, and referred to them in the preface of the First Prayer Book. He followed the Sarum use chiefly, inasmuch as it was the most commonly employed. But the sources of the Sarum use are again something of a mystery. It does not appear to be a Norman importation; at least, it contains a sufficient number of variables from known Norman Missals to put it in a classification by itself. It would seem that St. Osmund, and whoever was chiefly responsible for it, had, like Alcuin before him, access to older service books not readily identifiable. One of the great unknowns of liturgical history which still needs to be explored and illuminated is the origin of the Sarum use.²²

Seen against the backdrop of this constant work of re-formulation and readaptation of its basic Roman liturgical heritage, the revision of Cranmer does not appear revolutionary but evolutionary, despite many outward signs to the contrary. What makes it appear at first sight so strange and new is not so much the use of the vernacular, but the enormous simplification by way of elimination in order that the rites of the Church might be once again a possession of the laity as well as of the clergy and monks. And certainly the new idea of absolute uniformity was up to that time unheard of. But in taking his inherited usage and building upon its basic structure and content, yet at the same time enriching it with material sometimes from the East, sometimes from Gallican sources, sometimes from Continental Protestant suggestions, or even adding a bit of his own invention, Cranmer was continuing a long line of English reformers and liturgists, who are like the householder "which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matt. 13:52).

22 For a discussion of the problem, see Legg, *Missale ad usum*, 1411 ff.

THE WORD OF GOD IN THE NEW MODEL ARMY

WILLIAM HALLER

Barnard College, Columbia University

At the close of 1644 the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly found themselves in a difficult position. The preachers had declared that, if they all did the will of the Lord in the church, He would surely bless the efforts of their army in the war against the King. But the church was still unreformed and the King undefeated. They could have peace at the risk of allowing Charles to regain control of the church. They could go on with the war at the cost of permitting religious differences among their own partisans to continue and spread. In other words, nothing could be settled so long as Charles kept the field and the fear of defeat hung over English and Scots, Parliament and Assembly, Presbyterians, Independents, and sectaries alike. The predicament was made to Cromwell's hand. The campaign of 1644, having ended in frustration, he returned to his place in the House of Commons and initiated the maneuvers which led to the reorganization of the army with Fairfax in command but in the event with Cromwell still as its driving force. The result was the victory the Assembly divines had looked for as the sign of God's favor upon their efforts to reform the church but victory on terms which made reform of the church as they conceived it more difficult than ever. For Cromwell's accomplishment in war and politics was due to his gift for drawing upon those very energies of the spirit in himself and others which had been evoked in the people by Puritan preaching but which the ministerial caste was now striving to keep within bounds. He had succeeded in organizing victory not by curbing and containing the Puritan spirit but by giving it free play among the men under his command and by granting scope to its most characteristic modes of expression and organization. Hence the preaching of the Word in the parliamentary army as reconstituted in the New Model had not a little to do with the army's military success.¹

¹ The best account of the religious organization of the parliamentary army is to be found in C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (1902), 313-348. This deals, however, rather with the religious establishment in the army than with the nature and effect of religious teaching.

The Word had, of course, been preached in the army before Cromwell came to dominate it. Many noted divines went out with the regiments under Essex in 1642. They are described at Edgehill riding up and down and exhorting the soldiers "now if ever to stand to it, and fight for their Religion, Lawes, and Christian liberties."² Edgehill, however, settled nothing, and when the campaign was over, most of the preachers went back to their city pulpits and then presently to the great business of the Assembly. Baxter charges them with having quit the army out of desire for an easier, quieter life, but a deeper reason for their defection is indicated by an action of Baxter's own. We learn from him that at the beginning of the war the officers of Cromwell's newly raised troop of horse at Cambridge, "that famous Troop which he began his army with," about this time "purposed to make their Troop a gathered Church and they all subscribed an Invitation to me to be their Pastor." He refused the invitation with a reproof, in which he made plain "wherein my Judgement was against the Lawfulnessse and Convenience of their way."³

Baxter heard no more of Cromwell's troop until after Naseby, and apparently thought no more of it, but Baillie took note that as the campaign of 1644 dragged on more and more of the soldiery were, as he said, seduced to Independency and worse. As to Cromwell, he admitted with his unflinching candor that the man was "a very wise and active head, universally well beloved, as religious and stout" and that "most of the sojourns who loved new wayes putt themselves under his command."⁴ The new ways, however, were not so new as they appeared in Scottish eyes. They were the natural outcome of the Puritan movement, and they were supremely apposite to the situation at hand. Looking back on this time, after the Restoration, Baxter thought that all the mischief that had befallen in his time had started with the seduction of honest, ignorant men in the army by a few self-conceited fellows, "hatcht up among the old Separatists," and that all the trouble might have been prevented if moderate, sound, learned ministers had stayed with the troops from the beginning. But his notion that "then all the Fire was in one Spark" and might easily have been stamp-

² John Vicars, *Jehovah-Jireh* (1644), 200; quoted by Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 315.

³ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), 51.

⁴ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1841-42), II, 230.

ed out was a delusion. Actually not all the ministers did leave the army after 1642; not all who remained or joined later were extreme heretics or separatists; not all who deviated from orthodoxy were ignorant conceited firebrands. But aside from that, those who did desert would probably have been no more successful in quenching the Word as preached among the soldiery than they were elsewhere. Not every man recruited or impressed into the New Model was a Puritan saint, but the men favored by Cromwell for positions of trust and leadership had the root of the matter in them and the rest at least knew how saints were supposed to feel and behave and what rewards they might expect here and hereafter. All were familiar with the common procedures of the godly for banding together in order to help themselves to edification by the Word. Not Presbyterianism as conceived by the Westminster divines, with its rigid parochialism and its tight network of classes and synods, but Independency in all its protean manifestations, the irrepressible spontaneous aggregation of likeminded folk in shifting voluntary groups, seeking comfort and enlightenment for themselves from the preaching of the gospel, this was or was rapidly becoming the accustomed English way. It was a way adaptable to unprecedented conditions whether of civil war or life in the American wilderness, and not the least of its merits was that it gave scope for variations upon the doctrine of grace, better suited, or so it seemed, to the needs of men under such conditions than strict Calvinistic orthodoxy. Cromwell's troopers knew how to form themselves into what they chose to call gathered churches, and though Baxter refused to serve them, they had no trouble finding others to take the place he refused, ministers and graduates as well as men from their own ranks, officers and common soldiers, graced with gifts for expounding Scripture, without benefit of clergy but not without benefit of clerical example.

Unauthorized preaching had, of course, steadily increased everywhere ever since the fall of prelacy, and the New Model army had hardly got under way in 1645 when Parliament at last adopted an ordinance, long pending, designed to impose stricter control. The ordinance provided that no one was to be allowed to preach unless he had been ordained or approved as a person intending to enter the ministry and seeking to make trial of his ability, and orders were given that the rule was to be

strictly enforced in the army. Yet the ordinance soon appeared in print, accompanied by an anonymous but revealing statement, called a "vindication." This assured the people that Parliament did not intend to repress godly instruction in the army at a time when the need for and the shortage of preachers were both so great. To be sure, preaching according to the usual rule, opening, dividing, and applying texts, was work for ordained ministers only. But no one was forbidden to read and expound God's Word to those under his charge, "as suppose a Master to his Family, a Captain to his Company, a Collonell to his Regiment, a Generall to his Army, a King to his People, if he hath the grace to do it." Nor were people forbidden to gather for prayer and mutual instruction or to use and improve their talents as occasion might arise, each in his proper sphere.

You therefore Gentlemen of the Souldiery in the field . . . you may both pray and speak too in the head of your Companies, Regiments and Armies, you may deliver the piety of your souls, the wel-grounded confidence of your hearts, the valour of your minds, in such Orations, in such Liberties of Speech, as may best inspirit the men that follow you, with such a religious and undaunted animation as may render them unconquerable before the proudest enemy.⁵

Thus animated, the New Model army took the field in the early spring of 1645. On June 14 it overwhelmed the King at Naseby, and within a year had brought every remaining royal force and stronghold in England to surrender or destruction. Shortly after the victory at Naseby, Baxter, having spent the interval as lecturer to the garrison at Coventry, went to the army on business of his own and learned with consternation what he took to be the consequences of his own and his fellow ministers' neglect. In all chief places of command he found none but hot sectaries, Cromwell's chief favorites, and when he met Cromwell he was coldly received and rebuked for his former refusal to serve the now famous victorious regiment. Troubled in conscience, he accepted appointment as chaplain to Whalley's regiment, and followed the army during the remaining stages of the war, preaching and disputing, up to the fall of Worcester. He then dropped out and, exhausted, ill, alone, in fear of death, with no book at hand but the Bible, bent his thoughts, he says, on his everlasting rest and the drawing up of his own funeral

⁵ *The Cleere Sense: Or a Just Vindication of the late Ordinance of Parliament, 1645*; see also Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 334.

sermon.⁶ When he had composed what finally amounted to the first sixty-eight printed pages of his *Saints Everlasting Rest*, he found himself still alive and still full of his recent experience and the thoughts it provoked. The result was the remaining 788 pages of that work. But this was not all. He continued to occupy himself up to the Restoration with preaching and writing against what he conceived to be the errors and confusion in the church which followed Cromwell's rise to power. In the first part of his autobiography, said to have been written "for the most part" in 1664,⁷ he set down the earliest circumstantial, though bitterly hostile, record of the activities and ideas of the leading preachers in the New Model army at the moment of victory.

As early as June 1646, in a letter which found its way into Edwards' *Gangraena*, Baxter was reporting upon these matters. He found preachers in the army, he says, telling the soldiers that Christ judges only by the heart, that magistrates have nothing to do with the conversion of sinners or the reformation of the church, that ministers require no authorization save anointment of the Spirit and the acceptance of the saints, that universities are useless, tithes should be abolished, and the punishment of blasphemy left to God.

He was distressed, he tells us, to find so many honest men of little knowledge and weak judgment making it "too much of their Religion to talk for this Opinion and for that," for free grace and free will, for democracy, but above everything else for liberty of conscience, "that is, that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of anything in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every Man might not only hold, but preach and do in Matters of Religion what he pleased." But perhaps the most distressing thing about this state of affairs was that every one of the notions by which men were being carried away seemed but a distortion of, or false deduction from, some truth which wiser teachers had been setting forth for the enlightenment of precisely such persons. *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, springing directly out of Baxter's own experience as an army preacher, illustrates the errors he abhorred hardly less than the truths he embraced and shows how nearly related the

⁶ *Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), Dedication.

⁷ *Reliquiae*, "Breviate of the Contents." A still earlier but much briefer statement of Baxter's impressions appears in a letter, written in June 1646, which found its way into Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* (1646); Pt. III, 45-46.

two were to one another. The vital element in Baxter's belief appears in the funeral sermon for himself which comprises the opening chapters of that work. This was the conviction that Christ, having entered into his soul, had given him the power to know what God required of him and to do as he was required. Blest by grace with faith and the ability to act by the light of faith, he was assured, as he thought on his deathbed, of the everlasting rest in paradise, where there would be no more need for him or anyone to pray or preach—" . . . The Unregenerate past hope; the Saints past fear, for ever."

To Baxter, as to many another Puritan enthusiast who had come under the combined spell of Paul and Plato, saving truth was something that could be apprehended, paradise a state that could be regained, by little and little, but certainly in the end. And yet the too lively apprehension of bliss in the hereafter could lead to misunderstanding and much trouble in the here and now. He found too many men in the army so overpersuaded that they had Christ within that they concluded they had but to reach forth their hands and retake paradise, or whatever else they might erroneously conceive to be rightfully theirs, at once, just as they had taken Bristol or Basing or Worcester. That is to say, they were plunged into mortal error, from which he was to spend the years trying to rescue them, on the crucial point of justification. "A great difficulty," he says, "riseth in our way," the difficulty, namely, of determining "in what sense is our Improvement of our Talent, our well-doing, our overcoming . . . alleged as a Reason for our Coronation and Glory?" The Puritan preachers before Baxter had perhaps made too certain that common men should understand that the justification and glorification of the saints followed inevitably upon their vocation and sanctification, and that their calling was sealed in the gifts entrusted to them. At any rate, fired by such doctrine, the men of the New Model had shown that, whether gentlemen or not, they had a gift for winning battles, and whether ministers and graduates or not, a talent for expounding Scripture. And victory, without tarrying for magistrates or ministers, Parliament or Assembly, seemed to have justified their faith. Hence, or so it appeared to Baxter, they jumped to the conclusion that the effect of grace was immediate, total, and absolute, that the second coming of Christ was momentarily to be expected, and that the liberation and crowning of the saints was to be looked for not

in the indefinite future or upon terms but at once and unconditionally.

The full effect of all this on the men of the New Model would become clearer as soon as Parliament supplied them with a practical grievance and pamphleteers and agitators showed them how to transpose their faith into political as well as military action. Our concern here is with the preachers who filled the soldiers' minds with the errors Baxter deplored and so prepared them for the Levellers. Who accepted the invitation to dispense the Word to Cromwell's troopers which Baxter rejected, we do not exactly know. Nor can we point to any sermon in print before 1645 which Cromwell or his men can be said to have heard. There is, however, no lack of evidence as to who the preachers were who carried all before them in the New Model at the moment of its triumph or as to the nature of their utterances. The two whom Baxter found holding sway at headquarters directly after Naseby were John Saltmarsh and William Dell. The former especially seemed to him the prime source of those errors concerning justification which led to the anarchy which presently ensued.

On the eve of the Long Parliament, Saltmarsh, a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was still the conforming incumbent of a Yorkshire parish, but after the spiritual awakening described in his *Holy Discoveries and Flames* (1640), he embraced the Puritan cause. Under the Parliament he was appointed to a rectory in Kent but refused to accept tithes and by 1645 had joined the army. The substance of his preaching from that point on is to be found in the dozen or more tracts which he published, some of them more than once, between January 1645 and May 1647, the year of his death, with titles such as *Dawnings of Light* (1644), *Free-Grace* (1645), *Smoke in the Temple* (1646), and *Sparkles of Glory* (1647). The antecedents of Saltmarsh's ideas, as Baxter and as Rutherford with pedantic thoroughness pointed out, were not to be mistaken. He supplied the current version of the type of heterodoxy which had dogged Calvinistic orthodoxy from Geneva to Naseby and had most recently been heard in England from such preachers as John Everard, Giles Randall, and John Eaton. These were the men whose ideas had attracted the interest and sympathy of Lord Brooke, the courtly idealist, and of William Walwyn, the middle-class humanist. The truth was that antinomians, Ana-

baptists, familists, or whatever they might be called, and however they might be assailed as upstart, unruly, ignorant eccentrics, represented as ancient and as vital a form of Christian piety and doctrine as did the most orthodox adherent of the Westminster Assembly. The Puritan brotherhood had long been telling the people that, unless grace came to them by the will of God through Jesus Christ, they could not hope to be saved from judgment upon the sin to which they were born. The preachers had described the inner experience by which alone a man might know that grace had indeed come to him. Saltmarsh was one of the long succession of eager souls who found liberation and strength in pressing on to the conclusion that the grace men were told to hope for was theirs for the taking and that they did not need to wait for certitude until learned divines had settled all the fine points among themselves. All a man needed for his salvation was to know and love Christ within his own breast, in his fellow-men, and in God's creation. Salvation came, Saltmarsh said, by "experiment of Jesus Christ," to each man for himself by himself, the experience of each being of equal validity with that of every other man and the sufficient key to the mysteries of God's printed word. "The spirits of such as possess Christ" were the "counterpane" of the Scriptures, wherein "truth answers to truth, as in water face answers to face." "And the more Christ is known, and that love of God to the Sons of men which was manifest in the flesh, the more that glorious liberty from the Law, Sin, and Satan, is manifested in the soul."⁸

There is no truth but Christ and no Christ but the Christ within; yet Christ manifests himself to no man once and for all but to each only by degrees. Truth is single and entire; yet it "shines forth in many streams of glory, and opens like day." All outward administrations, whether as to Religion, or to natural, civil, and moral things, are only the visible appearances of God. . . . And God does not fix himself upon any one form or outward dispensation, but at his own will and pleasure comes forth in such and such an administration, and goes out of it, and leaves it, and takes up another. . . . The pure, comprehensive Christian, is one who grows up with God from administration to administration, and so walks with God in all his removes and spiritual increasings and flowings; and such are weak and in the flesh who tarry behind, worshipping that form or administration out of which God is departed.⁹

It follows that truth cannot be made to prevail by argument

8 John Saltmarsh, *Free-Grace*, "To the Reader."

9 Saltmarsh, *Sparkles of Glory* (1647), 113-14, 201-02.

or by violence but only through its own successive manifestations in the spirits of men. Churches and ministers err when they suppose not that they possess truth but that they possess it once and for all in its entirety. Magistrates err when they forbid truth to shine as it will in the hearts of men. The duty of the state is simply to maintain peace so that every man may seek truth for himself and make it known in his own way. Hence every man must be free to preach, and the press should be free to those who lack pulpits to preach from. Hence, too, no man should be despised either for gifts and learning or for the lack of them; "the spirit is in Paul as well as Peter, in both as well as one."¹⁰ Baxter's comment on the dangers likely to arise from such extreme deductions from the doctrine of Christian liberty is significant.

Some think the truth will not thrive among us, till every man have leave to speak both in Presse and Pulpit that please: God forbid that we should ever see that day! If ten mens voyces be louder then one, then would the noyse of Errour drown the voyce of Truth: . . . For the godly, compared with the ungodly, are not neer so few as the men of cleer understanding, in comparison of the ignorant: And they are the most forward to speake, that know least.¹¹

Baxter perceived that, if the ideas Saltmarsh was preaching to the army were to prevail, the end would be to reduce the ecclesiastical state to the purest democracy, and democracy seemed to him nothing but anarchy.

Saltmarsh was half a poet and excelled in lyrical, hortatory, mystical expression of the ideas that inspired the saints of the New Model. But the saints of the New Model passed readily from the belief that Christ was imminent in their breasts to certainty that the Lord was present in their ranks; and since their opponents in the field proved in fact unable to stand against them, the matter seemed to be put beyond question. The sermons of William Dell gave positive expression to such practical deductions from the doctrine of free justification. After graduating from Emmanuel College, Dell underwent a change of heart and joined the New Model in 1645. In May of that year he was

¹⁰ Saltmarsh, *Smoke in the Temple* (1646), 6.

¹¹ Finding the question of justification too difficult to solve in *Saints Everlasting Rest*, Baxter undertook to settle it and refute Saltmarsh, in *Aphorismes of Justification* (1649), a duodecimo of five hundred pages, and in a larger work of four hundred and sixty-two pages, *Rich: Baxters Confession of his Faith* (1655). For the quotation in the text, see *Aphorismes of Justification*, "To the Reader."

saying that, as Christ did not suffer the apostles to go forth until he had armed them with the Holy Ghost, so he still gives power to His servants, more to some than to others but enough to each for the task in hand, and a little "will inable a man to doe great things, far greater then the world suspects or imagines." The conclusion was inescapable. "We may judge of our calling to any business by the power we have received from Christ for it," which was to say, by our success.¹²

The preacher was speaking at this point of ministers of the church. A year later he was saying the same sort of thing to the embattled saints of the New Model.

I have seen more of the presence of God in that Army, then amongst any people that ever I conversed with in my life . . . we have seen his goings, and observed his very footsteps: for he hath dwelt among us, and marched in the head of us, and counsel'd us, and hath gone along with us step by step from Naseby.¹³

From this Dell went on just as positively to apply to the problem of the church the ideas and practices which had produced such convincing results in the war. He arrived at a ringing statement of the conception of the church as based solely upon the purely voluntary association of the elect brought together by the Spirit alone. Thus he pointed clearly to that ecclesiastical anarchy which Baxter and many besides feared as the certain result of popular obsession with the doctrine of free justification. The true church consisted only of such as had the Spirit of God within them, and the Spirit, though manifested in a diversity of gifts and dispensations, is the same Spirit in all and brings all together in love and peace. But "God doth not now make any people, or kindred, or nation his Church." The church is gathered out of every people, "and none can be stones of this building, but those that are first elect, and after made precious, through a new birth, and the gift of the spirit."¹⁴

This was, of course, to welcome the disintegration of the ecclesiastical state and extend indefinitely the principle which had worked so well in the army. It was to declare that there could be no true church which was not a "gathered" church, and Dell drove the point home in a fast day sermon delivered to the

12 William Dell, *Power from on High* (1645), Dedicatory Epistle and 5-6.

13 Dell, *The Building and Glory of the truly Christian and Spiritual Church* (1646), Epistle.

14 *Ibid.*

members of Parliament at St. Margaret's in November 1646. He told them that reformation could begin only with the reformation of sinners. But since only Christ can deal with sin, reformation must wait upon his continuing progressive triumph over the evil that harbors in every human breast. Rulers are as helpless against Antichrist as other men, and any attempt by the state to govern or reform the church is doomed to failure. "Clergy-power" formerly endeavored to claim support of the temporal authority by crying "Destroy one, Destroy both." The prelates were wont to say, "No Bishop, no King." Their successors still cry, "No minister, no Magistrate." So he admonishes Parliament not to suffer the victorious saints of the army to be oppressed by those "who would use your power against us, not for you, but for themselves."¹⁵

Thus in November 1646 Parliament heard from the pulpit of St. Margaret's the same doctrine it had heard so roundly condemned in the same place two years before when set forth by Roger Williams in *The Bloudy Tenent* and by William Walwyn in *The Compassionate Samaritane*. When Dell said that only Christ could deal with 'sin, he meant in effect that sin could be dealt with only through the preaching of the gospel. The effect of Cromwell's leadership in reorganizing the army for victory over the King was to remove the last restrictions upon preaching in both the army and the community. Practically everyone was free to use whatever gifts he possessed for attracting listeners eager to hear that Christ was at hand, that no matter what the learned or well-placed might say to the contrary, they might be his chosen ones, his true church. It was still true that many preachers were ordained ministers, but from now on the gathered church was not necessarily derived from, or associated with, a parish church or settled congregation. Nor had such groups become as yet firmly organized into the dissenting communions of a later period. They were still shifting, amorphous groups, made up of people uprooted and set adrift by revolution and civil war, congregating about individual preachers and flocking at will from one to another. The preacher was all-important and essentially uncontrolled by any authority. Given a man with the necessary qualities of leadership, and the group presently cohered, joined with other groups similarly circumstanced, and formed a sect. Sects flourished by offering their proselytes the

15 William Dell, *Right Reformation* (1646).

sense of distinction and security that came from feeling themselves a peculiar people, called to mount the ark of salvation in a doomed and perishing world. From being lowly and despised, they expected to see their situation reversed when Christ came to rule the world, purified and renewed. Or, unconvinced by the claims of any single group to be the true church, though recognizing the claims of each to some measure of Christ's spirit, one might choose to wait, content to possess Christ within oneself while still seeking for the visible manifestation of Him according to His own will in his own time. Practically speaking, this was to resolve the church completely and finally into the individual, every man becoming, so to speak, a church to himself. For the seeker, the only solution to the problem of the church was the toleration of churches within the framework of the state. A logical corollary to that conception was one which called for representative civil government democratically elected.

Many other preachers, though not all in exact agreement with Saltmarsh and Dell, arose in the army or on its periphery after 1645, but the most famous and the closest to Cromwell was Hugh Peters. He sprang from the same origins, subject to the same influences, as other members of the Puritan brotherhood. After graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge, he was first struck, he tells us, with a sense of his sinful estate upon hearing a sermon at St. Paul's, after which he was "quieted" by Thomas Hooker, further enlightened by Sibbes, Gouge, and Davenport, and then presented by a disciple to a lectureship in London. In 1627 he fled to Holland, where he associated briefly with William Ames and ministered to an English congregation. In 1635 he emigrated to New England and succeeded Roger Williams at Salem. He was intimate with the Winthrops, father and son. He witnessed the excitement caused by the antinomians and took part in the examination and trial of Mrs. Hutchinson. He was an active preacher, approved by his congregation, but he also busied himself in public affairs and was sent back to England as colony agent in 1641, just in time to take active part in the revolutionary cause. After serving as an army chaplain in the campaign of 1644, he joined the New Model, was probably present at Naseby, and served from this point on not only as chaplain and preacher but also as confidential agent and emissary, though the messenger sent up to London with the news of that victory was another preacher, Edward

Bowles. But the two men went together as chaplains under Fairfax on the expedition that immediately followed for the recovery of the west. Both held forth to the troops the day before the storming of Bridgewater (July 20-22), and Peters was up and exhorting the men on the morning of the assault.¹⁶

What Baillie called his "malapert rashness,"¹⁷ his gifts of utterance and of showmanship, along with his interest in affairs, made Peters invaluable to the army commanders. He became the chief exponent and defender of their acts and policies in both church and state. "This man," Edwards wrote, "is an Ubiquitary, here and there, in this Countrey, and that Countrey, in the Army, and at London." He was called "Soliciter Generall for the Sectaries," "Vicar Generall and Metropolitane both in New and Old England," "the new Arch-bishop of Canterbury."¹⁸ Lilburne said that he was one of the principal guides and spokesmen of the great men of the army, that he lay in their bosoms, knew their secrets, and trumpeted abroad their principles and tenets.¹⁹ Of all the preachers who had spoken and written against the King, he was the only one who was made to pay the supreme penalty at the Restoration. The effect of all his stirrings and appearances and of the legends to which they gave rise has been, however, to obscure somewhat Peters' part in the religious life of the army. Though he busied himself with preaching along with all his other activities, none of his army sermons has come down to us in authentic form in print. His chief publications were the reports he brought up to London from time to time of the army's successes and needs. On March 21, 1646, he came with the news of the final putting down of all resistance in the west, issued in print as *Master Peters Messuage from Sir Thomas Fairfax*.²⁰ Parliament voted that as his reward he should have an estate of £200 a year out of the lands of the Earl of Worcester, and it invited him, along with Joseph Caryl, to preach before both houses, the Assembly, and the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council at a special thanksgiving service in Christ Church. The sermon was presently published with the title *Gods Doings, and Mans Duty*. In theme and temper

16 William Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, 70.

17 Baillie, *Letters and Journals* II, 165.

18 Edwards, *Gangraena* I, 130-32; II, 61; III, 76.

19 John Lilburne, *Discourse betwixt Lieutenant Colonel Iohn Lilburn . . . And Mr. Hugh Peter* (1649).

20 *Master Peters Messuage from Sir Thomas Fairfax* (1646).

it gave premonition of the two tracts issued by Peters on behalf of the army and its commanders as their differences with Parliament grew acute. These were called *Mr. Peters Last Report of the English Wars* ([August 27] 1646) and *A Word for the Armie. And two words to the Kingdome* ([October 11] 1647).

Peters does not, in any of these writings, give direct expression to the doctrine of the indwelling Christ, but we are not to conclude that he had little interest or belief in free justification. He is the supreme example among the preachers of the manner in which acceptance of that doctrine relieved men from the confusions and inhibitions bred by doctrinal disputes and released them for revolutionary action. To believe was necessary if they were to act, but to act was impossible if they had to wait for all points of difference to be resolved by disputation among learned divines. "We know no more then we Practice," Peters said, "yet we shall never practice without knowledge." In his sermon to Parliament he made plain that knowledge as he conceived it and as the army preachers had set it forth to the soldiers had been confirmed by practical results, the force of which there was no mistaking. Now, however, the problem was different, not merely how to draw upon faith for motives to effective military action but how to compose the differences which had been so enormously complicated and exacerbated by the army's success and by the authority which that success gave to the religious conceptions prevailing in its ranks. The problem, for which the army leaders, especially Cromwell, felt a peculiar responsibility, was to make peace among the victors in the struggle against the King, and Peters' task for the moment was to present the army leaders' views on that subject. To this end he began in his thanksgiving sermon on April 2 by drawing the obvious deductions from his text, Psalm 31:23, "Love the Lord all ye his Saints: for the Lord preserveth the faithful, and plenteously rewardeth the proud doer." All the endeavors of the enemy have come to nothing: "the Parliament is not destroyed, the City stands, the Gospel is preached . . . Oh, my Lords you are not at Oxford, led up and down as Sampson, to be looked at by children."

You have the Army you wished for, and the Successes you desired. Oh the blessed change we see, that can travell now from Edinburgh, to the lands end in Cornwall, who not long since were blockt up at our doors! To see the highways occupied again; to hear the Carter whistling to his toiling

team; to see the weekly Carrier attend his constant mart; to see the hills rejoicing, the valleys laughing!

But the obvious deduction from all this was that the principles which had worked so well in war would work equally to everyone's advantage if applied to the vexed problem of religion. Were the issues that divided the church so important that they should be permitted to set Parliament against the men who had procured the liberty and safety of the kingdom? "You are still buzz'd in the ear with a desperate encrease of Errour," but there would be fewer errors, differences, and sects, if men did not think them so many. The only enemy was Antichrist, the only error pride, the only remedy love. The practical steps necessary for the establishment of peace were to promote preaching, relieve the poor, reform the laws, and regulate the press. But preaching, not discipline or polemics, came first. "If I know anything, what you have gotten by the sword, must be maintained by the word, by which English Christians are made."

Busy-body though he was, Peters, nevertheless, as the editors of his autobiography said of him, had in him "a Root of Grace." That root of grace, the bottom of sheer godliness in the man which was probably what won Cromwell's confidence, appears best in the little book he wrote while waiting to be executed, *A Dying Fathers Last Legacy to an Onely Child* (1661). As Baxter had done, but without Baxter's superabundant rhetoric, Peters, believing death to be at hand, described the regeneration enjoyed by the saints through their union with Christ. Nothing could have been more perfectly in the vein of traditional Puritan piety. The child is told above all things to be "perfect in Romans 8," the starting point for so many sermons, spiritual biographies, and improving treatises. To the uncomprehending modern mind, no conception of man's destiny seems to offer less hope to the generality of men. To resilient saints like Peters, even while waiting to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, nothing offered greater comfort. The child is to note especially the first verse—"there is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Jesus Christ"—and the twenty-eighth—"wee know that all things work together for good, to them that love God." "The preaching of these Truths," he says, "have been my greatest Advantage, and of most benefit to Others." For Peters, though he had sided against Mrs. Hutchinson, made after his return to England the easy demarche from Calvinist orthodoxy to the

notion so alarming to Baxter that Christ comes to his chosen ones without limiting conditions and that the chosen are not the few but the many, the simple, the poor, and the young. He sends to fetch the fatherless child from the ditch, leads him from humiliation to glory, and seats him at the heavenly table.

The child for whom the book was intended is also instructed, with many homely similitudes and pithy sayings, in the traditional code of behavior supposed to follow upon effectual calling. She is to gather "a Little English Library" of approved authors—Dod, Sibbes, Preston, Gouge, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Goodwin, Baxter himself. She is to keep a book in which she is to set down, each night before she sleeps, "the Lords Gracious Providence and Dealings with you; and your dealings with him." She is to bear in mind that affliction keeps us waking, "as the Thorn to the singing Bird," that conscience calls us up to labor, "as the Day the Lark, and the Lark the Husbandman." Being a woman, she is to keep at home and not be like the squirrel, "leaping from Tree to Tree, and Bough to Bough." She is to remember that marriage "hath many Concernments in it, where Goodness and Suitableness are the primary ingredients," and that the conjugal yoke "must still be lin'd with more Love to make the draught easie." As "the little Needle will draw a long tail of Thread after it," so "little sins may be followed with great sorrows," but "a very very little Grace (if true) is saving: a little Growth (if right) is comforting," and "a little little grain" of faith "like Mustard-seed will do Wonders." But perhaps the best expression of the temper which enabled such sanguine, forth-putting, executive spirits to turn the doctrine and the piety of St. Paul to their own uses is Peters' disquisition, while waiting for the executioner, on the vanity of earthly things.

Many dying men speak much about the Vanity of the World: But truly, as I would not die in a pet, so I would not quarrel with or leave the World, because I could be no greater in it, but because I could not do, nor be better in it, and that God is pleased I should leave it for a better: I wish I had never been vain in a vain World, but I appeal to, and plead with, Christ for my peace. *So use the World, as if you used it not: for the World hath a principle of decay in all the glory of it: Dote not on it, my poor Child.*

But the greatest witness to the doctrine of free grace as preached by such men as Peters, Dell, and Saltmarsh in the

army was Cromwell himself, as authentic a Puritan saint as ever confounded the Puritan brotherhood with the consequences of their own teachings. As early as 1638 he could declare "my soul is with the congregation of the firstborn, my body rests in hope, and if here I may honour my God either by doing or suffering, I shall be most glad." He said this while at the same time confessing, "I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me."²¹ Many a man, after such an experience, turned to preaching, but Cromwell was an East Anglican squire, one of an extensive clan whose members characteristically became not preachers themselves, but patrons and supporters of preachers. Holding himself always accountable for the gifts that befell him, he sought relief for the tensions within him in vehement public activity, in his neighborhood, in Parliament, and finally in the army. Not with deaf ears had he heard Marshall, Calamy, and other preachers tell Parliament that the Lord had laid his command upon its members and had covenanted to acknowledge obedience with victory. Cromwell had taken to heart the argument that the law written by God in the breast must be heeded even at the cost of making war on the King. Consequently, with no taste for speculation and debate, he went off in 1642 and raised a troop of horse, which formed itself into a "gathered" church. By the time Presbyterians and Independents were locking horns in the Assembly, he was determining, by the same pragmatical test the preachers had commended, which elements in their teachings were useful and valid in the situation immediately at hand. He found that the habit his countrymen had learned of banding together in their own way in order to help themselves to the preaching of the Word was as though designed for the predicament that resulted from the dragging out of the war. His own religious position seems to have come most closely to that of the seekers who felt unable to accept in full the claims of any communion to be the true church. But this position was not incompatible with acceptance of the principle of the "gathered" church, and accepting that principle Cromwell was able to enlist the kind of men he needed to forge an effective instrument of war. That he knew what he was about, his own words testify. "You must get men of a spirit," he told John Hampden after Edgehill, "or else I am sure you will be beaten

21 W. C. Abbot, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* I, 96-7.

still . . . I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience what they did."²²

In Cromwell, however, as in other converts to the doctrine of grace, the dynamics of Puritan faith outran the restraints of Puritan discipline. In September 1644, when things looked black, he wrote, "the Lord is our strength, and in Him is all our hope. Pray for us."²³ In April 1645, while the outcome still hung in the balance, he wrote, "God is not enough owned. We look too much to men and visible helps."²⁴ And after Naseby, he could still write, "Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to him alone belongs the glory."²⁵ Cromwell, like Peters, had a root of godliness in him. But he showed what strange alarming fruit that stock could produce. His first thought, always, was to get the business of the Lord, as he saw it, done rather than defined or thought out. Yet the inner compulsion to act and to defend what he had done or proposed to do drove him to take more and more extreme positions. These he arrived at pragmatically but none the less consistently with the logic and historic development of the Puritan movement. Thus he became the exponent in action of the most far-reaching tenets of the Puritan pulpit itself—the equality of men under God, the immanence of the Holy Spirit in the individual, the spiritual sufficiency of the individual without other mediation than the light within and perhaps the Scriptures, the liberty of conscience, the moral imperative implied in gifts and opportunities, the instant unfailing supervision of providence in human affairs. These principles pointed inevitably to the attenuation of the ministerial function in religious life and of the state's responsibility for the integrity of the church. One would not dare to say that Cromwell had thought these things out to their remotest consequences before undertaking to raise his first troop of horse, if indeed he ever did, or that he kept strictly to them when the responsibility for restoring order to the nation fell into his hands, but the logic of events drove him to acknowledge, assert, and act upon such principles until he had beaten down every opponent he could reach.

His acknowledgments are famous. "I had rather have a

²² *Ibid.*, IV, 471.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 292.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 340.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 360.

plain russet-coated captain," he wrote to the Suffolk committee in August 1643, "that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."²⁶ "Take heed of being sharp," he wrote to Crawford in March 1644, "or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion."²⁷ "He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country," he wrote to the House of Commons after Naseby, "I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for,"²⁸ and again "when I saw the enemy draw up and march in gallant order toward us, and we a company of poor ignorant men . . . I could not . . . but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are."²⁹ And in the dispatch to Parliament after the taking of Bristol, he put into a single paragraph every essential point in the argument for spiritual liberty under the protection of the state. "Presbyterians, Independents, all had here the same spirit of faith and prayer; . . . they agree here, know no names of difference: pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe, have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual, in the Body, and to the Head."³⁰ Thus the spirit which the Puritan preachers had first evoked found the next stage for its development, after the Westminster Assembly, in the New Model army, and thus Cromwell, speaking from the experience of the army, voiced what was to prove in the end the only escape from the problem which the preachers had created but could not themselves remedy.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 256.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 278.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 360.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 365.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 377.

EVANGELICAL RELIGION AND POPULAR ROMANTICISM IN EARLY NINETEENTH- CENTURY AMERICA

RALPH H. GABRIEL

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Arnold Toynbee has described our western civilization in the twentieth century as a rationalistic and secular culture. In the sense that an awareness of the importance of science is the starting point of the thinking of our day the generalization seems true. We prize the realism of the objective, analytical approach of science. In a turbulent and swiftly moving age we have substituted relativism for older values once confidently assumed to have universal validity. We have seen scepticism, born of twentieth-century events, erode an old and dynamic belief in progress. We observe Protestantism, its old orthodoxy shaken, striving to make the Christian tradition meaningful and significant for a materialistic generation. We watch the protagonists of democracy striving to hold fast to essential human values and to protect basic freedoms in an age of fear and power.

The twentieth-century man looks back with a certain wistfulness upon his forerunner in the eighteenth. Newton's mechanistic cosmos, symbolized by the ordered swinging of the planets about the sun, provided the starting point of eighteenth-century thought. The concept of the order of nature was central to the climate of opinion of eighteenth-century England and France, the provinces of the British crown in North America. The order of nature expressed itself in eighteenth-century America in a stable society of aristocrats and commoners, a society that in America produced leadership of sufficient quality to carry out a successful war of independence and to create an enduring federal republic. The order of nature, called into being by nature's God, to use Jefferson's phrase, emphasized the virtues of restraint and balance, the importance of reason, and the fundamental character of natural law. Washington expressed its norms in his self-restraint, after Yorktown, in the use of the vast personal power that came to him with victory. The eighteenth century prized realism and decorum. Its mood

and values fitted well the life of small ordered communities east of the Appalachians, conscious of their past and confident of the future. In these communities Protestantism had lost much of the drive and power it had had in seventeenth-century New England. Even that restored by the Great Awakening had declined in the revolutionary years. A deistic humanism provided the philosophy of the upper classes and had, through Tom Paine's *Appeal to Reason*, a wide influence among common men.

Between the rationalism and the realism of the eighteenth century and that of the twentieth lies the period dealt with in the present inquiry. The first half of the nineteenth century saw the decline of deism, the rise of evangelical Protestantism, and the final formulation of that cluster of ideas and values that made up the American democratic credo. The American revolution, though the achievement of eighteenth-century men and the product of eighteenth-century thought, looked forward to the nineteenth. The Declaration of Independence, with its emphasis on liberty and its doctrine of equality, was to be accepted by later generations as the classic formulation of democratic theory. Before he went to France as minister of the United States, Jefferson wrote the Virginia statute of religious liberty, a liberty guaranteed and extended by the first amendment to the Federal Constitution. In America, the eighteenth century ended in the triumph of freedom. The men of that age, in harmony with their predilection for balance, linked freedom and responsibility. They had won freedom both for the political state and for religion; they made both the state and religion the responsibility of the people.

In western Europe the French Revolution separated the nineteenth from the eighteenth century. In the United States the surmounting of the Appalachian barrier and the establishment of a fluid and rapidly moving frontier west of the mountains marked the boundary between the two epochs. In the first half of the nineteenth century Americans streamed westward. They filed through the passes of the Alleghenies on horseback and in Conestoga wagons. They took the leisurely boat passage on the Erie Canal. They moved westward singly, in families, and by companies. They subdued to cultivated fields the rich soils of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Refusing to be balked by dry plains, mountains, or deserts, they pushed on to the shores of

the Pacific, where they supplanted the descendants of the Spanish conquerors. Moreover, as covered wagons jolted toward the Pacific, other Americans harnessed Atlantic streams to new machines in new factories that multiplied in size and number with each passing decade. "It was our first great period of exploitation," remarked Vernon Parrington writing beside Puget Sound in 1927, "and from it emerged, as naturally as the cock from the mother egg, the spirit of romance, gross and tawdry in vulgar minds, dainty and refined in the more cultivated. But always romance. The days of realism were past, and it was quietly laid away with the wig and the smallclothes of an outworn generation." The nineteenth-century frontier, sub-literate, undisciplined and materialistic, tested the ability of the common people of the United States to measure up to the responsibility, placed upon them by religious freedom, to preserve that ancient Christian tradition that had come to America from Europe.

Timothy Dwight, leader of Connecticut Congregationalism and president of Yale College, journeyed about the turn of the century to the back country to observe at first hand the ways of the frontiersmen. "The business of these men," he wrote in 1810 in a passage destined to become famous, "is no other than to cut down trees, build log-houses, lay open forested ground to cultivation, and prepare the way for those who come after them. These men cannot live in regular society. They are too idle, too talkative, too passionate, too prodigal, and too shiftless to acquire either property or character. They are impatient of law, religion, and morality. . . . At the same time they are possessed, in their own view, of uncommon wisdom; understand medical science, politics, and religion better than those who have studied them through life; and, although they manage their own concerns worse than any other men, feel perfectly satisfied that they can manage those of the nation far better than the agents to whom they are committed by the public." Dwight, austere gentleman of the tie-wig school, found the rough folk of the frontier log cabins and stump lots given to passion and to exaggeration in talk and behavior. An oral literature of tall tales about those mythical heroes, Mike Fink, Davy Crockett and Paul Bunyan, enlivened social gatherings from the Great Lakes forests to those of the Gulf coast. These extravagant and earthy narra-

1 Vernon Parrington, *Main Currents of American Thought*, II, v.

tives of the bunkhouse, the flatboat, and the tap room glorified the individual. Davy Crockett became a cosmic figure who twisted the tails of comets as well as catamounts. These Brobdingnagian yarns, whose humor lacked any discipline of wit, reflected a society in which ability and readiness to use his fists was frequently the primary factor in determining the status of the individual. Dwight's staid Connecticut had no counterpart for the frontier gouging fight where no holds were barred. Dwight inevitably looked with a jaundiced eye upon the unkempt population of the frontier. What he did not realize was that the future lay with that rowdy, illiterate, yet fundamentally creative, frontier.

Unlike Connecticut, where the separation of church and state was not finally effected until 1818, religion on the frontier became from the beginning the full responsibility of the common people organized into voluntary congregations. The people of the back country, selecting what they could understand of the Christian tradition, turned that tradition to their own purposes. They transformed those meager elements of western civilization that trans-Appalachian migrants brought from eastern communities into folk culture. North of the Ohio this culture was a short transitional phase in the evolution of civilization. South of that river, due in part to the tardy emergence of public schools, a folk culture persisted for generations. In this western country evangelical Protestantism became a folk religion, expressing the attitudes of the people and providing for their intellectual and emotional needs. Among a population whose principal literature was the remembered tale, the Bible became the one important book. Its narrative gave to this culture its historical perspective. The precepts and admonitions of the Old and New Testaments established authoritative norms for the governing of human conduct, norms that were nothing less than the fixed and eternal laws of God established for the ordering of society. But, though the Bible spoke with authority, its words had to be interpreted, and no established church provided a single authoritative interpretation. Herein lay the essence of that religious liberty which had been guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Among this frontier population existed many individual minds of great native capacity, but they were walled-in by ignorance and isolated from the world of thought by the lack of educational opportunity.

Such minds, making use of the only intellectual materials at hand, acquired, many times, a prodigious biblical learning and even advanced to a homespun variety of philosophical and theological speculation. These individuals, often becoming leaders of local groups, played an important part in that splintering of Protestantism that was so pronounced a phenomenon of the nineteenth century.

The extravagance and individualism of the tall tales appeared again in the emotional experiences of the converted sinners of the frontier camp meetings. Back country folk invented this form of religious association and in it created not only a pattern for public worship but a means for expressing those emotions so fundamental to human life. Emotions are called up out of the depths of human nature by conflict and by rhythm. Evangelical Protestantism provided both. It presented the drama of the conflict of the Lord with the Devil for mastery in a world of sinners. It managed its greatest climax in the conflict of the individual sinner with his sin. The hysterical phenomena associated with the revival type of conversion are one of the commonplaces of frontier history. Unlettered exhorters preached what they understood to be the Christian message to country folk assembled from widely scattered cabins. In clearings lighted by flickering campfires, the preaching continued far into the night. The religious song, however, more than the spoken word, moved the mourner to grief for his sin and exaltation at his escape therefrom. The white spirituals, like the tall tales, were the creation of the folk culture of the back country. In these spirituals evangelical Protestantism, as a folk religion, came to focus.

These songs evolved out of older materials carried to the frontier by emigrants from eastern communities. Eighteenth-century Methodist and Baptist hymns underwent transformation. An unknown author of the time of Wesley wrote the stately hymn that ran:

A few more days on earth to spend
And all my toils and cares shall end,
And I shall see my God and friend
And praise his name on high.

Transformed by frontier influences, the stanza emerged as a refrain in the vernacular of the back settlements for a swiftly moving camp meeting revival song:

I pitch my tent on this camp ground,
Few days, few days!
And give old Satan another round,
And I am going home.
I can't stay in these diggings,
Few days, few days!
I can't stay in these diggings,
I am going home.

Other white spirituals were modifications of popular songs of the day. Many were sad and mournful songs dealing with farewell and death and set in a minor key. Through practically all ran a rhythm that lent itself to handclapping, stamping, and marching. Back country worshipers called the clapping, swaying accompaniment "the shout." The shout reinforced the emotional experience derived from these songs and from the worship of which they were a part. Ecstasy was the end sought, the supreme good, a good that could be enjoyed in the here and now. The men and women of the settlements were proud of the shout; they sang about it. Referring to the Judgment Day in one song the swaying, clapping mourners chanted:

Sweet morning, sweet morning
And we'll all shout together
In the morning.

They thought of Heaven as a place where the shout continued. In these spirituals of evangelical Protestantism, untutored men and women could forget for a moment the drabness and squalor, the pains and sorrows, of poor and isolated communities in a dazzling, romantic vision of pearly gates and golden streets. People whose place was near the bottom of the social hierarchy of the age sang of personal triumph and glory in the spirit of the aggressive individualism of the frontier.

I want to see bright angels stand
And waiting to receive me.²

The folk religion of the exuberant, optimistic, and undisciplined frontier represented a bizarre, but nonetheless genuine, expression to the spirit of romanticism. This religion had power. It helped to subdue the grosser evils of the frontier. It made an impress on American society that persisted far into the twentieth century.

2 George P. Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*, 298, 302.

New England in the first half of the nineteenth century looked at frontier society with apprehension and with a fear that expressed itself politically in the Hartford convention at the end of the War of 1812. New England, moreover, deeply resented the condescending generalizations of such foreign visitors as Mrs. Trollope who insisted that frontier uncouthness provided the true picture of American character. "There is no literary atmosphere breathing through the forests or across the prairies," declared Horace Bushnell as late as 1847. This Congregational clergyman and theologian of Hartford, Connecticut, had before this date challenged the conservatism of his New England colleagues. He had, in fact, become a prophet who was pointing out a new way that was ultimately to lead to the social gospel of the latter years of the century. In 1847, however, Bushnell was not immediately concerned with theology. He was stumping the East from New York to Boston in the cause of home missions. He chose for the title of his address, "Barbarism the First Danger." Affirming that frontier colleges, "if they have any, are only rudimental beginnings, and the youth a raw company of woodsmen," he solicited money to rescue westerners from the darkness of ignorance and sin. "Be it also understood," he concluded in a peroration that mirrored a blend of New England practicality and complacency, "that the sooner we have railroads and telegraphs spinning into the wilderness, and setting the remotest hamlets in connection and close proximity with the east, the more certain it is that light, good manners and Christian refinement will become universally diffused. For when the emigrant settlements of Minnesota or of Oregon feel that they are just in the suburb of Boston, it is nearly the same thing, in fact, as if they actually were."³ The tendency of Europeans to see American culture in terms of western "barbarism" spurred eastern men of letters to attempt to create what was, in effect, a derivative culture. Longfellow, the translator, was the most important in this group. Emerson, however, refused to follow the intellectual fashions of his day. He rejected sterile imitation. He would have no truck with a culture that "fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests."⁴

Emerson and the Concord transcendentalists stood at the opposite pole of intellectual sophistication from contemporary

³ Horace Bushnell, *Barbarism the First Danger*, 6, 27.

⁴ *American Scholar*.

camp meeting exhorters and from the creators of the white spirituals. Transcendentalism, together with the folk religion of the frontier, enables us to set early nineteenth-century Protestantism in perspective. In New England a liberal movement called Unitarianism in the first half of the century tried to modify an older Puritanism, to reconcile theology with Newtonian science, and to subdue to reason the thorny doctrine of the Trinity. Emerson began his adult career as a Unitarian preacher. When he became convinced that the new liberalism had become little more than the urbane philosophy of upper class respectability, he walked out of the pulpit. Emerson sympathized with the ethical emphasis of Unitarianism, for he, together with the colleagues of William Ellery Channing, inherited the ethical seriousness of seventeenth-century Puritanism. But in Emerson's eyes Unitarianism had lost its drive; its ethic had declined into a cult of respectability. For Emerson, Unitarianism was like the conch shell he picked up on the sand and in which, when he held it to his ear, he could hear only the distant echo of the sea. He craved an immediate experience of the crash of the breakers on the shore. As he moved away from Unitarian rationalism, Emerson, however, did not take the road to orthodoxy. His trail led, rather, in the opposite direction toward what his outraged Protestant contemporaries called the new infidelity. Ethics remained his preoccupation; he sought a faith that would be a dynamism giving ethics significance in society. (The discovery by Emerson and Thoreau of nature as a source of inspiration is one of the most familiar of American stories. Nature brought them into contact with that infinite and immanent God that these Transcendentalists called the Over-soul. Through mystical experience Emerson discovered what William James, in a later generation, described as "that peace abiding at the heart of endless agitation." Emerson's lines to the tiny purple Rhodora, blooming in solitude, express better than almost any other among his writings the transcendentalist mood and the transcendentalist affirmation of the unity of nature, man and God.)

Why thou wert there, O rival of the rose
I never thought to ask, I never knew:
But, in my simple ignorance, suppose
The self-same Power that brought me there brought you.

Mystical experience convinced Emerson that deity dwells in the human heart, a belief that led on his conviction that the individu-

al man has vast potential powers, that every man has a unique mission in the world, a contribution that he alone can make and which the world needs. Emerson's definition of individualism as uniqueness and non-conformity surpassed even that of the frontier.

(Between New England transcendentalism and the folk religion of the frontier ran the main current of American Protestantism in an age in which cities were growing swiftly but whose outlook was still dominated by that of the countryside and the rural village.) As the century rolled forward, New England theology lost some of that granite hardness of Puritan Calvinism and took on the adaptable rationality of Scottish common sense. Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth century, moreover, had introduced the idea of the importance of emotion into what had been a coldly logical intellectual structure. Emotion had made its way in the churches despite a somewhat stubborn conservatism of theologians. The significance of religious feeling ultimately found its greatest exponent in Horace Bushnell. As "the ideal of Greeks was beauty," he remarked in 1843, "and that of the Romans law, so this new age shall embrace an ideal more comprehensive, as it is higher than all, namely love. . . . This love is no partial ideal, as every other must be; it is universal, it embraces all that is beneficent, pure, true, beautiful—God, man, eternity, time." In such an outlook and philosophy the social gospel was born. Bushnell also, like Emerson, had his moments of emotional exaltation. Early in December in 1852, returning from the West, the Hartford preacher paused to look at Niagara Falls. His was the familiar pilgrimage of the early nineteenth-century Americans to the natural wonder. Thousands who could not make the journey knew the Falls through published engraving made from the romantic canvases of the landscapists of the Hudson River school. "I was never so deeply impressed with them before," commented Bushnell in a letter he posted to his wife, ". . . one ocean plunging in solemn repose of continuity into another . . . a power that is the same yesterday, today, and forever . . . I could hardly stand, such was the sense it gave me of the greatness of God. . . ."5 Though Bushnell attacked the nature-worship of the transcendentalists six years later in a volume he called *Nature and the Supernatural*, his thought, in spite of the fact that he used the phrases of the

5 *Life and Letters*, 276-7.

familiar Protestant orthodoxy, disclosed close kinship to that of Emerson. (Both men found nature the source of inspiration, and both looked upon man as the culmination of nature. Both exalted the individual and emphasized the importance of the free expression of his emotions. At this point it is useful to recall that early nineteenth-century romanticism emphasized just these things—the importance of nature as a manifestation of beauty and a source of inspiration, the value of the individual, and the significance of the emotions of men. Whatever their intellectual differences, Bushnell and Emerson both belonged to that international company of romantics so important in the early nineteenth-century world.)

Looking backward from our day we can see that Bushnell was primarily important for the second half of the nineteenth century as his thought led out into the social gospel. A much simpler man than he pioneered in eastern communities in the development of emotional expression in early nineteenth-century Protestantism. Lowell Mason, hymn-writer, emerged in a period in which all of the United States, with unimportant exceptions, was little better than a musical wilderness. His greatest secular achievement came when he persuaded the educational authorities of Boston to lead the nation in putting musical instruction into the schools of that city. The state of early nineteenth-century American music is suggested by the fact that as late as 1837, the year of Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, Mason's *New Collection of Church Music* devoted twenty-four opening pages to instruction in the "elements of vocal music." Mason did not merely collect and make available the religious songs of Europe and older America. He became the most important American creator of hymns of the first half of the nineteenth century. While he still lived, his songs became the household possessions of millions of his fellow country men. There were few Americans who did not know "My Faith Looks Up to Thee," "From Greenland's Icy Mountains," or "Nearer My God to Thee." They became what Mason intended them to be, songs of the people. He combined simple poems of aspiration with melodies that were equally simple. He rose on occasion to moderate heights of emotional expression and at times declined into sentimentality. Toward the end of his life, Mason set down the philosophy that governed him in the creation of those songs that moved the men and women of his day. Congregational sing-

ing, he remarked in 1859, "is nature's method of praise. It is, in a great degree independent of art culture, being indeed above art. It is adapted alike to the voices of the young and the old, the uncultivated and the cultivated. It engages all in the simultaneous exercise of the same emotions. . . . It belongs . . . to the sublime in nature rather than in art. It may be compared to the mountains, which owe their majesty, not to their fertile soil, nor to any architectural skill, but to the Power which commanded the light to shine out of darkness, and brought up from the depths the rough and diversified materials in which consists 'the strength of the hills.'" The character of this affirmation and the choice of metaphor make clear that Mason selected his word, nature, from the vocabulary of mid-nineteenth-century romanticism. Mason was as much affected by the romantic spirit as Bushnell or Emerson. What the white spirituals contributed to the folk religion of the frontier Mason's hymns gave to the worship of the churches of more developed communities. When the folk culture of the early settlements gave way before the advance of civilization, Mason's hymns replaced the spirituals. With their frank appeal to emotion these songs of the people played a part in the softening of the craggy theology of older New England and in preparing the way for Bushnell's manifesto concerning the law of love.

"Upon close inspection," commented Alexis de Tocqueville as he surveyed the society of early nineteenth-century America, "it will be seen that there is in every age some peculiar and preponderant fact with which all others are connected; this fact almost always gives birth to some pregnant idea or some ruling passion, which attracts to itself and bears away in its course all the feelings and opinions of the time; it is like a great stream toward which each of the neighboring rivulets seems to flow."⁶ Tocqueville seems to have thought that individualism, born of freedom in the American environment, was such a ruling idea. "Individualism," he noted, "is a novel expression to which a novel idea has given birth."⁷ Early nineteenth-century Protestantism, whether that of frontier folk religion or that of the more sophisticated denominations, focused on the individual, as did also New England transcendentalism. Both Protestantism and transcendentalism, moreover, emphasized the importance

6 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Phillips Bradley ed., II, 95.

7 *Ibid.*, 98.

of the emotions of the individual man and woman. Though the ecstasy of frontier revivalistic religious experience has been labeled a manifestation of sect tradition and practices while such communion with nature as that of Bushnell and Emerson has been called mysticism, the similarities between the two types of individual emotional experience outweigh the differences. Nineteenth-century Protestantism as a people's religion and transcendentalism as a faith for the more cultivated few were both, at bottom, romantic religions. Though such influences cannot be measured, it is a reasonable guess that Christianity had as much to do with giving romanticism its dominant position in the climate of opinion of mid-nineteenth-century America as did literary and artistic importations from across the Atlantic.

As Tocqueville suggested, there is an alchemy at work in every climate of opinion that tends to dissolve inconsistencies and to establish fundamental agreements. The concept of the order of nature was such an agent in the eighteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century, romanticism provided the solvent. It permeated the arts and literature. It expressed itself in the South in the cult of chivalry and in the romantic nationalism of the dream of the confederate States of America. It created the fundamental similarities between religious and secular thinking. The eighteenth century had bequeathed to the common man of the nineteenth responsibility for organized religion on the one hand and for the political state on the other. Inevitably the citizen expressed similar ideas as his thinking moved back and forth between these two realms.

The first half of the nineteenth century, as Parrington affirmed, was a time of conquest and of exploitation. As the decades advanced, Americans achieved a deepening understanding of the nature and significance of the evils that were poisoning their society—unintelligent and often cruel treatment of the mentally ill, urban slums that grew more rapidly than the cities, chattel slavery whose continuous existence mocked the pretensions of democracy. A somber realism appeared, expressing itself in the early writings of Parke Goodwin of New York City and in the hard-hitting sermons of Theodore Parker in Boston. The realism, however, was not well done by twentieth-century standards of social science, for early nineteenth-century Americans still lived in what was, in reality, a pre-scientific age. The two greatest tracts of a golden age of tracts, "Uncle Tom's

Cabin" and "Ten Nights in a Barroom," fell short of achieving even literary realism. Their vast success in their own time lay not in an artistic recreation of human life distorted by social evils but rather in the fact that they frankly laid siege to the emotions of a generation brought up on the emotionalism of evangelical Protestantism. Romanticism emphasized the nobility of feelings of concern for suffering humanity. In the varied humanitarian movements that grew to significance in early nineteenth-century America, a generous sympathy for the less favored, the unfortunate, and the oppressed made up for inadequate knowledge of society and of the forces that move within it. In spite of inadequacies in scientific knowledge, however, the drive toward betterment of society and the realization of democratic ideals brought concrete results—universal manhood suffrage in Jackson's day, the establishment on a sure foundation of the public school system, and the abandonment of the legal theory of the English common law that labor unions are conspiracies. Romantic emotionalism had power in humanitarian undertakings as well as in religion.

Above the humanitarian crusades and the concrete social advances a cluster of democratic norms emerged that Whitman, before he became the poet of American democracy, called the American faith.⁸ It was a credo announced on every ceremonial national occasion from public platforms. It inspired a literature that ran the gamut from Bancroft's history to Whitman's "Leaves of Grass." Although the statements of the pattern of democratic idealism were only seldom couched in the analytical vocabulary of logic, they have been broken down into specific doctrines. The primary doctrine was that of the fundamental law not made by man underlying society and making human association possible, the natural law of the Declaration of Independence and the moral law of Christian tradition. The emphasis was on permanence in the time and universal validity among men. The second doctrine was that of the free and responsible individual, responsible not only for contributing to the management of the political state but ultimately to the fundamental law before which all men are equal. This doctrine was the secular counterpart of the religious affirmation of the ultimate responsibility of the individual to God. In the same first half of the nineteenth century, when American Protestants moved outward

8 Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 12-25.

to establish mission stations on the frontier and in non-Christian lands, the doctrine of a national mission to stand before the world as a witness for democracy came into being. The parallels between this early nineteenth-century democratic faith and the romantic Christianity of the people seem clear. To the similarities in ideas must be added similarity in emotional emphasis. "Not in an obscure corner, not in feudal Europe . . ." said Emerson voicing the hope that democracy would one day bring peace to the world, "is this seed of benevolence laid in the furrow with tears of hope, but in the broad America of God and man."

The democratic credo was also a romantic formulation. It came to focus in its concept of the dignity of the individual—a concept which had also been central to the rationalistic and generous humanism of the eighteenth-century "enlightenment." In the nineteenth century, though experience and logic provided important reinforcement, the essential dynamism of this doctrine of the dignity of man, when it expressed itself in humanitarian undertakings, was not reason but rather emotion born of desire and faith. This democratic credo, this American dream, was the greatest achievement of an age that, in retrospect, we see as but an interlude between two periods of rationalism and realism, an age, moreover, that came to wreck when mid-nineteenth-century Americans abandoned rational debate and, surrendering to their hates and fears, marched off to fratricidal war.

MINUTES OF THE SIXTY-SEVENTH CONSECUTIVE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, DECEMBER 29-30, 1949

The annual meeting of the American Society of Church History was held on Thursday and Friday, December 29-30, 1949, in the Hotel Statler, Boston, Massachusetts.

President Massey H. Shepherd presided at the business session on December 29, 8:00 P. M. The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved as printed. The Assistant Secretary reported the deaths of four members, resignation of two members, the dropping from the roll of nineteen members, and the election of fifty-eight new members. (For names see the Minutes of the Council.)

Mr. Brauer reported that he had inspected the books of the Society and found them to be in order. The report of the Treasurer was approved as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY FOR THE YEAR DECEMBER 11, 1948-DECEMBER 6, 1949

I. CURRENT FUNDS

A. SUMMARY AND BALANCE

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, December 11, 1948	\$ 591.37
Membership dues	\$1,514.75
Sale of <i>Papers</i>	5.31
Office charge, Vol. VII of <i>Studies</i>	15.00
Income from <i>Church History</i>	706.08
<i>Studies</i> —see Schedule C	256.20
	<hr/>
	2,497.34
Total Receipts	<hr/>
	\$3,088.71
DISBURSEMENTS	
Expenses of management of Society	\$ 779.09
Publication of <i>Church History</i>	1,655.91
<i>Studies</i> —see Schedule C	247.02
	<hr/>
Total disbursements	\$2,682.02
Cash on hand, December 6, 1949:	
National Bank of Auburn, Checking account,	
per bank statement	\$ 773.71

Less unreturned checks:

No. 1061	\$ 22.01	
No. 1064	4.02	
No. 1065	12.61	
No. 1066	5.20	
No. 1067	19.08	
No. 1068	6.81	
No. 1070	2.82	
No. 1072	218.15	
No. 1073	76.32	367.02
		<hr/>
		406.69
		<hr/>
		\$3,088.71

B. GENERAL FUNDS AND MAGAZINE

RECEIPTS

Membership dues		
1946— 3 members	\$ 9.00	
1947— 5 members	15.00	
1948— 11 members	33.00	
1949—475 members	1,424.25	
1950— 9 members	27.25	
1951— 2 members	6.25	
		<hr/>
	\$1,514.75	
Sale of <i>Papers</i>	5.31	
Office charge, Vol. VII of <i>Studies</i>	15.00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,535.06
Subscriptions to <i>Church History</i> (220)	653.04	
Sale of copies	53.04	
		<hr/>
		706.08
		<hr/>
		\$2,241.14

DISBURSEMENTS

Management of Society		
Postage and express charges	\$ 130.81	
Printing and mimeographing	176.31	
Stationery and supplies	15.12	
Secretarial services		
Secretary	\$ 69.20	
Treasurer	342.05	411.25
		<hr/>
Safe deposit box	6.00	
Telegram68	

CHURCH HISTORY

Refunds	4.50
Travelling expenses, Secretary	34.42

\$ 779.09

Publication of *Church History*

Printing and distribution of magazine	\$1,324.17
Other printing	11.40
Postage and express charges	52.24
Telephone tolls and telegrams	4.53
Stationery and supplies	13.07
Exchange on Canadian checks82
Refunds	3.77
Secretarial services	
Managing Editor	\$ 64.85
Treasurer	165.50
Expenses, Associate editor	230.35
	15.56

1,655.91

\$2,435.00

C. STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY

RECEIPTS

Sales (including postage)

Volume II	\$ 8.06
Volume III	16.50
Volume IV	28.02
Volume V	12.57
Volume VII	166.95
Monograph II	24.10
	<hr/>
	\$256.20

DISBURSEMENTS

Volume II

Postage	\$.19
Stenographic expense	3.00
Editorial services45
Settlement with author	4.02
	<hr/>
	\$ 7.66

Volume III

Postage64
Stenographic expense	3.30
Editorial services	1.40
Settlement with author	12.61
	<hr/>
	17.95

Volume IV

Postage82	
Stenographic expense	4.35	
Editorial services	2.87	
Settlement with author	5.20	
To Publication Reserve	15.36	28.60

Volume V

Postage14	
Stenographic expense	1.20	
Editorial services	1.13	
To Publication Reserve	10.20	12.67

Volume VII

Postage and express charges	16.14	
Stenographic expenses	40.90	
Copyright	4.25	
Advertising	21.40	
Office charge	15.00	
Editorial services	5.64	
To Publication Reserve	50.76	154.09

Monograph II

Postage65	
Stenographic expense	4.20	
Editorial services	2.12	
Settlement with author	19.08	26.05

\$247.02

II. COMPARATIVE STATEMENT—OPERATING ACCOUNT

General Funds and Magazine

RECEIPTS

	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49
General	\$1,075.96	\$1,244.32	\$1,543.89	\$1,418.29	\$1,429.44	\$1,535.06
Magazine	444.97	484.23	644.48	839.63	747.75	706.08
Totals	\$1,520.93	\$1,728.55	\$2,188.37	\$2,257.92	\$2,177.19	\$2,241.14

DISBURSEMENTS

	\$ 448.20	\$ 489.98	\$ 506.38	\$ 592.76	\$ 658.35	\$ 779.09
General	1,142.73	1,175.86	1,346.77	1,452.19	1,978.54	1,655.91
Magazine						
Totals	\$1,590.93	\$1,665.84	\$1,853.15	\$2,044.95	\$2,636.89	\$2,435.00
Operating deficit	\$ 70.00				\$ 459.70	\$ 193.86
Operating surplus		\$ 62.71	\$ 335.22	\$ 212.97		

CHURCH HISTORY

III. ENDOWMENT FUND

A. CASH

RECEIPTS	
Brought forward December 11, 1948	\$2,315.91
Interest, U. S. bonds	\$267.50
Interest, Manufacturers' Trust Co.	27.81
Principal, Manufacturers' Trust Co.	4.68
Interest, Auburn Savings Bank	43.22
To Publication Reserve from <i>Studies</i>	76.32 419.53
Total	\$2,735.44

DISBURSEMENTS

None	
Cash in Auburn Savings Bank, December 13, 1949, per bank book	\$2,735.44

DIVISION OF ENDOWMENT FUND CASH

Interest of Brewer Prize Fund, \$10,000 U. S. 2½% bonds	\$1,139.06
Publication Reserve	981.83
General Endowment	614.55
	\$2,735.44

B. SECURITIES, December 13, 1949

\$ 957.65 guaranteed 1st mortgage certificate, N64, No. 201, of New York Title and Mortgage Company, in liquidation, Manufacturers' Trust Company, trustee	
10,000.00 registered U. S. Treasury bond, 14,385, 1949-53, 2½%	
500.00 registered U. S. Treasury bond, 2,445E, 1949-53, 2½%	
100.00 registered U. S. Treasury bond, 3,328J, 1949-53, 2½%	
100.00 registered U. S. Treasury bond, 3,329J, 1949-53, 2½%	

These securities are in the Society's safe-deposit box at the 111th Street Branch of the National City Bank of New York. The U. S. Treasury bonds named above have been called and cease to bear interest on Dec. 15, 1949. The Society's Committee on Investment of Endowment Funds will during December collect for them and buy U. S. Savings bonds, Series G, registered, of the same denominations and interest, bearing interest from Dec. 1, 1949.

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS, *Treasurer*.

It was voted unanimously that the Assistant Secretary send greetings to the Treasurer.

The report of the Editorial Board was read by Matthew Spinka.

The Society voted that the Spring Meeting be held at Oberlin and the next Annual Meeting at Chicago.

The Society voted that the dues of members be \$4.00 per year and that the price of *Church History* to libraries and non-members be \$4.00 per year.

The Assistant Secretary read the resolutions suggested by the Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols, and recommended to the Society by the Council. (See Minutes of the Council.) These were adopted unanimously.

The special committee on revisions and policy affecting the business and editorial affairs of the Society (see Minutes of Council) was approved by the Society.

The committees on the Brewer Prize reported that not all of the members had yet read the manuscripts submitted and, therefore, there was no action.

Report of the Council on nominations was reported by the Assistant Secretary. Persons nominated for the respective offices and committees were duly elected.

The Society adjourned at 9:05 P. M.

At the banquet meeting the following day with James Hastings Nichols presiding Matthew Spinka reported that the action taken by the Society at its business session the night before in raising the annual dues was unconstitutional. He stated that the Council had met in the Old South Meeting House at 12:00 noon and recommended the following revision of the Constitution: the annual dues for all three classes of members, active, sustaining, and life, may be determined by any annual meeting of the Society. The Society adopted this amendment to the Constitution by unanimous vote. It then voted that the annual dues of members for the coming year be \$4.00 and that the subscription price for *Church History* for libraries and non-members be \$4.00.

The Assistant Secretary read a communication from Tetsutaro Ariga of Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, asking that he be reinstated to membership in the Society and recommending his colleague, Dr. Chiyu Inoue, Professor of History, Kyoto University, Japan, to membership in the Society. The Society voted the acceptance of these members and adjourned upon the conclusion of the presidential address.

During the days of the annual meeting, the following papers were read to the Society:

The Problem of Eternal Generation in Clement of Alexandria, by Harry Austryn Wolfson.

Origen, Eusebius and the Iconoclastic Controversy, by George Florovsky.

Enthusiasm in Southeastern Colonial Connecticut, by John Brush.

The Bearing of Christology on the Relationship of Church and State, by George H. Williams.

The Mystical Element in Seventeenth Century English Puritanism and the Development of Liberalism, by Jerald C. Brauer.

American Protestantism in the Revolutionary Epoch, by Sidney E. Mead.

A People's Religion and the Formulation of the American Democratic Faith, by Ralph H. Gabriel.

The Place of the Prayer Book in the Western Liturgical Tradition, by Massey H. Shepherd.

Attest: MERVIN M. DEEMS,
Assistant Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH
HISTORY, DECEMBER 29, 1949

Members present were: Massey H. Shepherd, James Hastings Nichols, Ray C. Petry, Matthew Spinka, Winthrop S. Hudson, Harold S. Bender, Sidney E. Mead, Mervin M. Deems.

Minutes of the Council meeting on December 29, 1948, were approved as printed.

Treasurer's report was presented by Professor Spinka and the Council appointed Mr. Brauer as auditor. He reported that he had examined most of the accounts but that the bank book was not available for his inspection. He will examine this book upon his return to New York and will report later to the officers.

Council voted to send hearty greetings to the Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols.

Matthew Spinka read the report of the Editorial Board as follows:

Although your Board has adopted every measure possible for the prevention of an operating deficit, and has faithfully kept within the average of 70 pages to an issue, we regret to report that the disbursements for the publication of *Church History* exceeded the appropriation for that purpose by \$155.91. Although this is an operating deficit, it is by no means an actual one, since the cash balance on hand amounts to \$406.69. Moreover, the deficit was incurred largely because the December, 1948, issue, which was much larger than the issues published during the current year, was paid for during this year.

Since the expenses next year are not likely to be reduced, the Board recommends that \$2,000 be appropriated for the publication of *Church History* during 1950, and that the Treasurer be authorized to draw on the publication reserve in case of necessity.

It is only natural that the Board should desire to see the limitation imposed on the quarterly removed as soon as possible. But that cannot be done without increasing the annual dues. The merits and demerits of such a measure are not for us to debate. We only wish to urge that, if possible, means be found to restore *Church History* to its former size.

Although the Brewer Prize committee has not yet made its report regarding its decision for the current year, it may be of interest to the Society that the essay of Frank H. Littell which had been awarded the prize some time ago will soon be in the printer's hands.

Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW SPINKA,
R. C. PETRY,
WINTHROP S. HUDSON.

Report of the Board was adopted and the recommendations approved. Council recommended that the annual dues be \$4.00 per member.

Council voted to recommend to the Society the recommendations made by its Treasurer: (1) that Mrs. Winifred Hoyt Nichols be re-elected Assistant Treasurer; (2) that the Society adopt a resolution addressed to the National Bank of Auburn, Auburn, New York, stating that Mrs. Winifred Hoyt Nichols has been elected Assistant Treasurer of the American Society of Church History, Inc., and has authority from the Society to do with its funds all that the Treasurer is authorized to do; (3) that a similar resolution be addressed to the 111th Street Branch of the National City Safe Deposit Company, 111th Street and Broadway, New York 25, stating that the American Society of Church History, Inc., authorizes its Secretary, Raymond W. Albright, and its Assistant Treasurer, Mrs. Winifred Hoyt Nichols, to have access to its safe deposit box in the Company's vault.

The jury of the Brewer Prize Contest reported that no decision has been made yet since the manuscripts have not got around to all the members.

The Assistant Secretary reported changes in the membership roll as follows:

Died: William James Campbell, Dean P. S. Goertz, Bruce L. Kershner, C. Henry Smith.

Resignations: Victor B. Stanley, Jr., Erwin J. Urch.
Resignations were accepted with regret.

Treasurer reported that nineteen members were in arrears for dues for three years and it was voted to strike their names from the roll as required by the Constitution. They are as follows:

Lockhart Amerman	John H. A. Holmes
George W. Auxier	E. G. Homrighausen
Ray H. Baker	Addison H. Leitch
Robert L. Calhoun	Robert L. Lunsford
Rawlins Cherryhomes	Thomas A. Michels
Harold R. Cook	Chester C. W. Mixer
J. W. Cruikshank	Enrico C. S. Molnar
Milton G. Danielson	Philip F. Palmer
George Edward Gaiser	Walter E. Straw
	Lionel B. West

The Council elected into membership in the Society the following persons who were properly nominated, subject to fulfillment of the constitutional requirement:

Paul Frederick Abel	Raymond P. Morris
Lynwood L. Barlow	Allen T. Newby
George S. Benson	John Newport
Robert S. Bosher	Emil Oberholzer, Jr.
John H. Bratt	John F. Olson
Thomas E. Brooks	Karl A. Olsson
Ernest E. Brown	H. Boone Porter, Jr.
Earl H. Byleen	Melvyn E. Pratt
Thomas H. Campbell	Sidney A. Rand
Harold Dekker	Rudolf A. Renfer
Simon DeVries	John C. Roberts
Richard L. Francis	Garrett C. Roorda
Barney R. Freasier	M. L. Schooman
Charles C. Forman	E. R. Searcy
Roger L. Frederickson	Richard W. Shreffler
Dick L. van Halsema	William R. Siktberg
E. M. Hawkins	Ervin Peter Young
Milford F. Henkel	Simpson
W. Ivan Hoy	Miss Julia Smith
Ralph Hyslop	Paul G. Sonnack
Alfred Janavel	Arne Sovik
Donald C. Kime	Charles J. Speel
William M. Landeen	Donald E. Tansley
N. Frederick Lang	Bard Thompson
Samuel Loenchli	Fred G. Traut
G. E. McCracken	E. K. Vandever
Herbert S. Mekeel	H. H. Walsh
John T. Middaugh	Frederick W. Whittaker
Boyce H. Moody	William G. Wilcox
Vern D. Morey	Walter L. Yates

The Council then discussed the matter of the growing burden of detailed business on the shoulders of the Treasurer, Secretary, and Chairman of the Editorial Board and voted that a committee on revisions and policy be appointed by the chair to bring in a report at the next annual meeting. Chair appointed Messrs. Nichols, Mead, Hudson, Trinterud, and McNeill.

Council voted to accepted the invitation of Professor Buckler for the Spring Meeting to be held at Oberlin, Ohio.

Council voted that the next Annual Meeting be held in Chicago.

Council voted to present the following names in nomination for the respective offices and committees for 1950:

President, James Hastings Nichols

Vice-President, Ray C. Petry

Secretary, Raymond W. Albright

Assistant Secretary, M. M. Deems

Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols

Assistant Treasurer, Mrs. Winifred Hoyt Nichols

Chairman of the Editorial Board, Winthrop S. Hudson

Other Members of the Council

Percy V. Norwood

Kenneth S. Latourette

Matthew Spinka

Ernest G. Schwiebert

Winthrop S. Hudson

Massey H. Shepherd

Sandford Fleming

Sidney E. Mead

Carl E. Schneider

L. J. Trinterud

Editorial Board: Winthrop S. Hudson, chairman; Matthew Spinka, Ray C. Petry, James Hastings Nichols, and Robert Hastings Nichols, *ex officio*.

Program and Local Arrangements for the Annual Meeting: Massey H. Shepherd, chairman; Sidney E. Mead, Percy V. Norwood, R. H. Fischer. *Spring Meeting*: F. W. Buckler, Harold J. Grimm, Mervin M. Deems.

Membership: John T. McNeill, chairman; J. M. Batten, Quirinus Breen, Richard Caemerer, Sidney E. Mead, Sandford Fleming, George Forrell, Harold J. Grimm, Nelson Rightmeyer, W. W. Rockwell, W. W. Sweet, and F. J. Klingberg.

Investment of Endowment Funds: Robert Hastings Nichols, chairman; Frederick W. Loetscher.

Nominations: Wilhelm Pauck, chairman; Harold S. Bender, and George Williams.

Research: W. W. Sweet, chairman; C. A. Anderson, and Donald Yoder.

Brewer Prize: Percy V. Norwood, chairman; J. M. Batten and Quirinus Breen with Matthew Spinka and Ray C. Petry of the Editorial Board.

Program and Arrangements for the Pacific Coast Meeting:
Quirinus Breen and Sandford Fleming.

This meeting of the Council adjourned at 6:00 P. M.

A subsequent meeting of the Council was held at noon, December 30, in Old South Meeting House with the following members present: Messrs. Shepherd, Bender, Spinka, Nichols, Mead. It having been discovered that the change of dues voted by the Society at the business session the night before was unconstitutional, the Council voted the necessary constitutional change be recommended to the Society meeting in specially called business session at the annual banquet at 12:30 the same day.

Council adjourned.

Attest: MERVIN M. DEEMS,
Assistant Secretary

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

By J. LEBRETON and J. ZEILLER. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1949. Pp. 1272. \$16.50.

This is an excellent book, notable for its scholarly competence, clarity of style, and extraordinary comprehensiveness. The two closely packed volumes seem to include everything that one would expect to find only in much longer works. It represents able and liberal Roman Catholic scholarship. Père Lebreton, dean of the Faculty of Theology at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, writes the primarily theological chapters, and Mon. Jacques Zeiller, Director of Studies at the *École des Hautes Études* of the Sorbonne, deals with ecclesiastical organization, the persecutions, and the characteristics and problems of life in the church. In spite of its dual authorship, a high degree of unity is achieved.

These volumes include more than the institutional history which is often presented as "church history," for there is a comparatively full discussion of the development of doctrine. Such major figures as Justin, Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian are presented in essays of from twenty to fifty pages each. The chapter on Origen is particularly good. There is also adequate consideration of minor figures, and of the faith and life of the simple believer as something different from the theology of the great. On the institutional side the chapters on the place of the church in the world are very good, with a strong emphasis on church orders, and property, and the special position of the church in Rome.

The footnotes of the book are particularly interesting to the specialist. They are unusually full and they carry the subtler part of the argument. They show the wide learning of the two authors, and an unusual knowledge of Protestant as well as Roman Catholic writing on church history. Protestant writings, most of them to be sure by continental scholars, are quoted both in approval and in criticism. There is little recognition of American or British writings, but one wonders how many Protestant historians have a similar command of Roman Catholic scholarship. The discussion is urbane and good-tempered, with a vigorous pressing of one interpretation, but fair quarter given to the views rejected.

It is the dogmatic position of the Roman Catholic church that colors the history at many points, particularly of the earliest decades. It is history written with a confessional slant. Indeed, for Protestant readers this is one of the values, for it is not easy to find the historical basis for Roman dogma so fully presented. One of the most extensively developed theses, for instance, is that the hierarchy can be traced back to the act of Christ. The Twelve are heads and pastors of the "visible and hierarchical society," with Peter at their head. The apostles received from Christ the "power of universal jurisdiction and the assurance of a personal infallibility in doc-

doctrine." The eleven were, however, not able to transmit these powers to the bishops who succeeded them. The headship of Peter is traced in all sorts of ways, emphasizing the original commission by Christ, the evidence of peculiar power and leadership in the opening chapters of *Acts*, his speaking the decisive word at the Council of Jerusalem. Although at Antioch he slipped to the point where "his complacency threatened to rend the church asunder," his influence on Barnabas is evidence of his unique position. There is full willingness to admit human error, but no abatement of the claim that he had supernaturally conferred authority.

At countless other points the divergence between Roman Catholic and liberal Protestant scholarship is sharp. *Acts* was written before 63, the Gospels earlier. The order and the theology of the Fourth Gospel, written by John, son of Zebedee, form the basis for the interpretation of the mission of Jesus. The Roman church, as seen even in the Ignatian letters, "has a rank apart, an authority which is over all others." Although Protestant scholars will differ at very many points, the book is useful in part because it makes available the dogmatic Roman Catholic view. For fully two-thirds or three-quarters of the book no dogmatic issue is raised, and the work stands as an able and useful discussion of early church history.

Virginia Corwin.

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE IN ANTIOCH IN THE HELLENISTIC-ROMAN PERIOD

By GEORGE HADDAD. New York: Hafner, 1949. Pp. v, 196. \$2.50.

This dissertation, written under the direction of Ralph Marcus at the Oriental Institute, is the work of a Syrian scholar who has studied at Beirut and Paris and teaches at the Syrian University in Damascus. He therefore brings to his task an immediacy which westerners seldom share, and which makes his excellent book all the more interesting. It is primarily a study of the people of Antioch, their origins, size, race, nationality, and language, as well as of their alleged fickleness, love of satire and laughter and rioting, and enthusiasm for pleasure and immorality. Historically, and not without apologetic Haddad proves that the people were essentially not Greek, Roman, or Syrian, but *sui generis* Antiochene. Their bad reputation—intensified by nineteenth-century writers—was due to ancient exaggeration or to the vices of the élite and the army, not the proletariat. The upper classes were largely Greek and their behavior was much like that of Greeks elsewhere.

The range of Haddad's reading, both in primary and in secondary works, is large and his judgments are balanced. His book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Hellenistic culture. One point might have been stressed. He passes by the early patristic writers with a brief summary, although a considerable amount of light is cast on Antiochene life in their pages. For example, the letters of Ignatius contain a curious mixture of gnosis and Christianity, while the Antiochene origin of many anti-Jewish heresies presumably reflects antagonism to the large Jewish community there. Theophilus of Antioch (c. 180) shows us the kind of literary and philosophical education through which Greeks passed at Antioch as elsewhere. And in his works we find close contact with Judaism, while his

successor Serapion had to write against Christians who were turning to the Jewish religion.

His reference (p. 164) to the development of an athletic vocabulary by Antiochene Christians neglects the extent to which these metaphors were current in rhetoric. And one wonders whether Chrysostom and the other fathers were quite as naïve as Haddad assumes. We may readily agree that Renan and others have dramatized Antiochene immorality without whitewashing the Antiochenes (cf. pp. 174-77, where Haddad finally says of Daphne that the rhythm of life in any resort cannot be normal!). And it may be asked whether we can assume that immorality is confined to the upper classes.

At the same time, we are grateful to Haddad for his attack on the generalizations which still plague historians. We recall that "Celtic fickleness" was supposed to show that Galatians was written to North Galatia's Celtic inhabitants. Such theories discredit not only their authors but also the field in which they are tolerated. Haddad's book is an excellent tonic for such disorders.

University of the South.

Robert W. Grant.

THE INQUISITION IN PORTUGAL

MARIO BRANDAO, *O Processo na Inquisição de Mestre Diogo de Teive*, Coimbra 1943. 200 pages.

MARIO BRANDAO, *O Processo na Inquisição de Mestre Joao da Costa*, Coimbra 1944. 374 pages.

MARIO BRANDAO, *A Inquisição e os Professores do Colegio das Artes*, Coimbra 1948, 2 vols. 694 pages.

ANTONIO BAIÃO, *O Processo desconhecido da Inquisição contra o lente do Colegio das Artes, Mestre Marcial de Gouveia*, in: *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da Historia*, volume IX, Lisboa 1945. Pp. 9-45.

ALBIN E. BEAU, *As Relações Germanicas do Humanismo de Damiao de Gois*, Coimbra 1941. 205 pages.

Professor Brandao, director of the exceedingly modern and most beautiful archives in Coimbra, and Antonio Baiao, the retired director of the National Archives in Lisbon, have done a great service to students of the Counter Reformation with the publication of some outstanding trials before the Inquisition in Portugal. In addition, Professor Brandao's scholarly study, *A Inquisição e os Professores do Colegio das Artes*, gives the fullest information on all persons and events mentioned in the trials published by him.

Diogo de Teive and Joao da Costa were professors at the newly founded College of the Arts in Coimbra when they were imprisoned and accused of heresy by the much dreaded Inquisition in 1551. Before they were called to Coimbra they had studied and taught at the famous college of St. Barbara in Paris, where the Portuguese scholar Diogo de Gouveia, an ardent defender of conservative Catholicism, was the famous principal for many years. Diogo de Teive and Joao da Costa came in conflict with Diogo de Gouveia through their more liberal religious opinions. They

moved on to the College of Guyenne in Bordeaux which had won a reputation as a center of Lutheran propaganda. At Guyenne, the well-known Scotch "heretic" George Buchanan was teaching also. He later became professor in Coimbra and was brought before the Inquisition together with Teive and Costa.

Damiao de Goes was another Portuguese humanist who studied abroad and who was accused by the Inquisition of heresy many years later. Professor Beau's book is the first comprehensive study of Goes' contacts with German liberal humanists and reformers. Goes, like Marcial de Gouveia, had known Erasmus intimately. Both men were equally impressed by the "German people's teacher," Melancthon, a fact which the Inquisition could not forgive them.

All these publications should greatly contribute to a better understanding of the revived religious fervor which suddenly seized the Catholic Church before the Council of Trent. It was unfortunate that the open-mindedness which was displayed by many Catholics during the first half of the century disappeared completely in that period.
Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. Elisabeth Feist Hirsch.

ERASMUS, TYNDALE, AND MORE

By W. E. CAMPBELL. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. 288. \$5.00.

The purpose of this book is to illuminate the origins of the English Reformation by studying the personalities, the interrelated careers, and the religious convictions of Erasmus, Tyndale, and More. The author is an English Catholic schoolmaster who has devoted his life to the study and editing of the *English Works* of Sir Thomas More, and this is his labor of love. It is consciously modeled on Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, with Tyndale substituted for Colet and a warm nostalgia for the Catholic "medieval ages" in place of Protestant bias. ("O to have been in England then, when God was there," he remarks).

For biography Mr. Campbell relies heavily upon P. S. Allen, J. F. Mozley, and R. W. Chambers. He has a lively appreciation of Erasmus as "the pioneer of sounder and quite orthodox biblical criticism," whose "besetting virtue" was moderation. He properly emphasizes the greatness of the *Enchiridion* as a pioneer work of piety addressed to laymen, but misses the significance of the annotations to the *New Testament*. He takes every opportunity to emphasize Erasmus's orthodoxy and presents recent evidence that he died in the presence of a priest. He admires Tyndale's character and style, though not his ideas. "This silent being of homely appearance, buttoned up within himself," he writes, needed "an understanding priest" to lead him to his "missed vocation," the contemplative life. He follows Chambers closely in his hero-worship of More, and in a quite untenable interpretation of the *Utopia* as the fountainhead of Catholic social philosophy he even out-Chambers Chambers.

The heart of the book is a detailed account of what is still the classic statement for English-speaking readers of the Catholic-Protestant argument, the controversy between Tyndale and More. The author's method is extended quotation. In fact, almost half the book is direct quotation—

sometimes (unfortunately) of familiar secondary accounts, or, of favorite passages from the sources which the author forgets he has already reproduced. There are occasional minor errors in the text, an absurdly sketchy and inaccurate bibliography, and a spotty index.

The book never quite lives up to its promise. The author has warm human sympathies and wide knowledge, but somehow the personalities and the theme never come alive. The long excerpts are interesting and well chosen, but over and over they appear to be a substitute for the kind of reflective thinking and imaginative discernment which writers like Chambers have led us to expect on such a theme.

Princeton University.

E. Harris Harbison.

THE LIFE OF GOD IN THE SOUL OF MAN

By HENRY SCOUGAL. Edited with an historical introduction by Winthrop S. Hudson. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1948. Pp. 95. \$1.50.

The editor of this treatise deserves the warmest thanks, not only of the student of the history of Christianity, but also of any serious Christian desirous to know better and deeper the implication of his own faith. At one time Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* was regarded as a classic in Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. This little book, which was first published in 1677, went through many editions (the first had no less than seventeen printings by 1819). Anyone who reads it today, in the attractive new edition of the Westminster Press, will agree that it possesses an amazing freshness, and an immediacy in its appeal which only the genuine, and truly great, edifying documents exert. It is easy to understand that this gift of "Aberdeens immortal mystic" to posterity was cherished by Christians of divergent denominational affiliations, as has been the "Imitation of Christ," and Bunyan's or Law's famous tracts to which the editor compares it.

There is a wonderful simplicity and directness to these meditations on the Nature of True Religion, on the Excellency and Advantage of Religion, and on Aids to True Religion. Each of the three chapters closes with a prayer of remarkable beauty. The first discusses Mistakes about Religion, the Essence of Religion, and Divine Love as exemplified in Our Saviour; the second treats of Divine Love, Charity, Purity and Humility, and the third discourses on Despondent Thoughts of Some Newly Awakened to a Right Sense of Things, on Our Duty to do what we can and Divine Assistance; and, finally, on the Means to Advance Religion.

This is not the place for an analysis of Henry Scougal's piety or even of his notion of religion. Suffice to say that the intense and deeply Christian character of his religious experience is reflected in every sentence he writes. Of those who are "acquainted with religion" he says: "They know by experience that true religion is an union of the soul with God, a real participation of the divine nature, the very image of God drawn upon the soul, or in the Apostle's phrase, it is Christ found within us" (30). I suppose this sentence is enough to indicate why he has been called a mystic. But if Scougal is a mystic—and I believe with the editor that he is one—he is a very sane and sound one. There are none of the eccentricities which are so frequently found in the writings (and in the lives) of "mystics" and which loom so (unnecessarily) large in the theoretical literature about

mysticism. The reader of this treatise would not have to belong to an esoteric brotherhood to enjoy it to the full, and his affiliation to whatever church he might belong will rather be strengthened than weakened by the reading of it. There is none of the radical iconoclasm or subtle spiritual arrogance which disfigures some treatises of extreme spiritualists and mystics. This also is no autosoteric gospel; but a strong emphasis is placed upon the grace of God and especially his supreme revelation in Jesus Christ. As that of all genuine Christian mysticism, Scougal's teaching is christocentric (40ff., 86f.). There are no startling new assertions or even wordings in this little treatise. Yet it is powerfully written and cannot fail to impress even the casual reader. It is, indeed, a serious call.

Professor Hudson has supplied the necessary fact of the life of the author and placed him and his work in the context of the religious thought of the second half of the seventeenth century. The connection with the Cambridge Platonists and with John Forbes, which he points out, is of special interest. The continuity of the great stream of mystical christocentric devotion (Bernhard, Richard of St. Victor, "a Kempis"), to which quite a few of the Puritan mystics and spirituals owe much, should also not be forgotten.

University of Chicago.

Joachim Wach.

FROM STATESMAN TO PHILOSOPHER: A STUDY IN BOLINGBROKE'S DEISM

By WALTER MCINTOSH MERRILL. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949.
Pp. 274. \$3.50.

Neither the title nor the subtitle of this book indicates the scope of the work, for it is not the account of Bolingbroke's transition from a statesman to a philosopher nor is it limited to his own deistic ideas. This is, rather, a brief study of deism in general, with Bolingbroke's ideas set alongside those of the other famous deists and compared with them. If, then, one were to ask, as Edmund Burke did in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, "who now reads Bolingbroke?" the answer, as pertaining to the value of this book, is that any one will read it who would like to have a collection of the central statements made by the most important deists on several significant subjects.

After a brief biographical sketch in the Introduction, the author records what such men as Herbert of Cherbury, Charles Blount, Anthony Collins, Matthew Tindal, John Toland, Samuel Clarke, and others have said on the subjects which dominated the deistic controversy, namely, The Existence and Attributes of God, Providence, Miracles, Optimism and the Problem of Evil, Immortality, Reason and the Religion of Nature, Ethics, Priestcraft, Metaphysics and Theology, and Criticism of Revelation. Each one of these subjects is the basis of a chapter which begins with a brief statement of the problem, followed by a series of quotations from the above-mentioned deists, to which is then added Bolingbroke's distinctive ideas. The author is not engaged in advancing any particular argument, his object being limited chiefly to a descriptive analysis of deistic thought.

If there is anything that makes Bolingbroke unique among the deists, it is his greater concern about the subject of ethics. His position is one

of reaction both against Hobbes on one side and the Platonists on the other. Against Hobbes' pessimism, Bolingbroke argues that there is a sure basis for the distinction between good and evil, justice and injustice, even before man has formed a society and instituted civil laws, and this basis is in the will of God. His essence of eternal goodness precedes God's will; to hold such a notion, he argues, is to make the essence of goodness independent of God. Hence, as against Hobbes' individualism, Bolingbroke holds that "Sociability is the great instinct, and benevolence the great law of human nature." Though this would appear to lead him close to Shaftsbury's "moral sense" doctrine, he considers the latter just as absurd as the notion of "innate ideas or any other of the platonic whimsies." Consequently, he finds it necessary to say that self-love is the "original spring of human action." But he avoids a contradiction between the motives of self-love and benevolence by asserting that self-love, enlightened by reason, leads to sociability, the central law of nature.

The chief value of this book lies in its orderly and generous use of quotations from the original sources, and the simplicity and clarity with which the whole deistic frame of mind and line of argumentation are set forth.

Vanderbilt University.

Samuel Enoch Stumpf.

IMAGES OR SHADOWS OF DIVINE THINGS

By JONATHAN EDWARDS. Edited by PERRY MILLER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. 151. \$2.75.

The publication of these 212 aphorisms, which the great New England theologian jotted down through the years and never published, is an event of unusual interest. Professor Perry Miller has edited them from the manuscripts in the Yale University Library and contributed a long and highly instructive Introduction (43 pages). With a view to the stature of Jonathan Edwards, any hitherto unknown product from his pen which becomes available would be of interest. How much more a document which throws light on a hitherto not appreciated facet of his thought. These aphorisms are all concerned with the problem of *interpretation*; they contain the key to Edward's hermeneutics. In an era which cultivated the grammatico-historical interpretation of the Scriptures, we see the New England theologian review the so-called *typological* exegesis. Though he criticizes the aberrations of this method in earlier times, he vindicates the *right* of a spiritual interpretation. Moreover, he extends this method beyond the exegesis of the Bible to the realm of nature and of history, yes, finally to the whole realm of human experience. The empirical world of our senses which the new science and philosophy of the age (Locke) had rediscovered, and the beauty of which is so fervently and eloquently appreciated by Edwards, is interpreted as a world of signs and chiffres, of "images or shadows of Divine Things." The unity which the new science demonstrated so convincingly for nature, and which theology had shown to exist in the spiritual world, have to be brought into relation. "We see that even in the material world, God makes one part of it strangely to agree with another, and why is it not reasonable to suppose that he makes the whole as a shadow of the spiritual world" (ff. 8cf., also f.79). Here are, at random,

some instances of Edward's use of typology: "The *sun's* sending his rays without diminution of his light and heat is a bright image of God's beauty and goodness" (§14); *death* temporal is a shadow of eternal death (§1), a man's *love* toward a woman may represent the love of Christ toward his church (§32); the gradual *progress* from childhood to manhood is a type of the progress of the saints in grace and of the church toward purification in knowledge, holiness, and blessedness (§42); the rising and setting of the *sun* is a type of the death and resurrection of Christ (§50), *hills and mountains* are types of heaven, because difficult of ascent (ff.64), the *silk-worm* (finishing his work in death and rising again) is "a remarkable type of Christ" (§142), as "the raven or the foxes are of devils (§61, 148). Though most of these types could be found in patristic and medieval authors—which is not to say that they are the fruits of reading rather than of observation with Jonathan Edwards—one remarkable aphorism at least cannot be traced back: "The changing of the course of trade and the supplying of the world with its treasures from America is a type and forerunner of what is approaching in spiritual things, when the world shall be supplied with spiritual treasures from America" (ff.147).

Modern readers—including modern theologians—may balk at this method which, they will say, is either ingenious play or rather eisegesis than exegesis. The historian of hermeneutics is aware that all through the history of Christianity—as of other religions—periods of emphasis upon the literal sense have alternated with others in which, recurrently, the dissatisfaction with the literal has led to a search for deeper meanings. (Cf. the survey of R. Grant, *A Short History of Interpretation*, and the important article of P. H. deLubacq, S. J., "Typologie et allegorie" in *Recherches de Science Rel.*, 1947). We should not like to miss the work of an Origen, an Augustine, a Hugh of St. Victor, to name just a few great advocates of spiritual interpretation. (cf. for the nineteenth century: J. Wach, *Das Verstehen*, Vol. II).

We owe Prof. Miller a debt of gratitude for his highly successful attempt to place Edward's theology in the sequence of the development of New England thought and to illuminate his indebtedness to the scientific and philosophical work of his day. He shows convincingly why Edwards "classified" the tropes as rhestoric figures which had been worn out by his predecessors following the pattern of Ramus' logic (Cotton Mather), and what, exactly, type and antitype meant to the great New England preacher. "At the end of Edward's quest, the distinction he sought between the trope and the type was this: the trope may be a lively notion of the outward thing, and to be useful in social intercourse, in business and preaching, but the shadow of the image must be that of which the spiritual reality consists in itself. And the two must never, under pain of damnation, be confused." (32) Professor Miller shows the influences of works like John Flavel's *Husbandry Spiritualized*, which draws from the homely pursuit of agriculture (1659) for its tropes, of Glassius' *Theologia Sacra* (1623-36) and Keach's *Tropologia* (1681) which were influential in the seventeenth century revival of typology (13ff., 24ff.). In an especially persuasive section of his Introduction (v) he characterizes the intention of the Northampton thinker: to "perfect a universal language for nature, history and scripture" and indicates that "the conception of images as a form of com-

munication, distinct from words, interactions, and syllogisms, seemed to him an answer" (37). This is not only of interest to the antiquarian but to all of us today to whom the question how to understand and to interpret the Christian *Kerygma* is the greatest concern.

University of Chicago.

Joachim Wach.

JOHN M'COY: HIS LIFE AND DIARIES

By ELIZABETH HAYWARD. New York: American Historical Co., 1948. Pp. xvi, 493. \$4.50.

John M'Coy (1782-1859), a life-long Baptist deacon, has preserved in his diaries an intimate account of religious life in Indiana during the first half of the nineteenth century. Preaching services, prayer meetings, temperance gatherings, or church business sessions seem to have been held almost every night. Controversies over education, missions, temperance, theology, the merits of rival hymn books, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and revivals of religion troubled the ecclesiastical waters. Spiritual life was frequently at a low-ebb, and the young people "behaved like uncivilized beings" during church services. A quiet contempt was manifest toward things "eastern," including "Bro. Sherwin who wished to find a location where he might preach and obtain a living," but was "unwilling (like all our eastern Ministers) to go to the destitute, lest he should not be amply sustained."

A brother of Isaac McCoy, famed missionary to the Indians, John M'Coy was a doughty opponent of anti-mission sentiment, and he helped found the American Indian Association, Franklin College, and the Indiana Baptist Convention. The diaries have been ably edited by Mrs. Hayward, and an excellent biography serves as an introduction to them.

Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Winthrop S. Hudson.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

By HENRY J. BROWNE. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. xvi, 415. \$4.50.

This lengthy and painstaking study is the 39th of the Catholic University of America series in American Church History. Meticulous and finely detailed, it is based on diocesan archives, chiefly correspondence, and the papers of Terence V. Powderly. Although the book does not say so, at least one reason for writing it was to correct the erroneous impression that the Knights of Labor was banned by the Canadian hierarchy and that such a move by the American clergy and the Vatican was only narrowly averted through the strenuous exertions of Cardinal Gibbons.

The truth appears to be (that is about as definite as one can be in summarizing 160,000 words in 400, when the book contains neither summary nor abstract and virtually no conclusions) that the Knights were automatically condemned by Rome along with secret societies in general and that the archbishop of Quebec implemented this directive. The American clergy, on the other hand, led by Cardinal Gibbons, pursued a cautious policy of "masterly inactivity" (Gibbons' phrase) and he focused American sentiment, which was friendly toward labor, upon the Holy See.

The result was that the Quebec action was revoked and the American policy adopted; the Church in the United States thus avoided the opprobrium that all expected if the Knights were banned.

As to Gibbons' alleged influence upon *Rerum novarum*—which is dealt with as part of the aftermath of the Knights of Labor affair—Leo in writing to Gibbons “did not single him out in any way as a predecessor or even mention his contribution.” The encyclical had little to do with easing the troubles between Church and Knights, although it is claimed to endorse “in germ” the American idea of a “non-religious association of workmen for which the bishops had sought tolerance in Rome.”

The study is an illuminating picture of the diplomacy and political pressures exerted upon the bureaucracies at Rome by protagonists of varying viewpoints. The arguments Gibbons used ranged from the moral right of labor to organize, through Powderly's loyalty to the Church (at that time), to the probable effect of condemnation upon the collection of Peter's pence in this country. Neither defense nor criticism is made of the temporizing and conservative attitude of the Church and her servants, yet the author implies in his preface that there are lessons to be learned from the account. The two paragraphs (pp. 302-03) in which are made some inferences concerning Protestant attitudes toward labor in 1887 cite only a few instances, and these concern small and extremely conservative denominations.

The study is unquestionably a contribution to scholarship, and, as a dissertation, well earned the degree for its author. Yet, as a book for other readers, it has serious limitations: there is no general summary; critical sentences are often buried in long paragraphs; chapters are mostly without introductory or concluding matter providing needed context. The most serious criticism of this nature is the lack of biographical material on even the most important figures and the almost total lack of general social and economic background against which the events described took place. The essay on sources suggests that Catholics of the 1880's were no more systematic than Protestants in keeping their archives, and reveals the tremendous labor expended by the author. There is an excellent index, and almost no errors in the text.

New York City.

C. Howard Hopkins.

THE PROVINCE OF THE PACIFIC

By LOUIS CHILDS SANFORD. Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1949. Pp. xiii, 187. \$3.00.

This book is a valuable addition to the recorded story of the history of the church in the far western section of the United States. Its value is increased by the fact that it was written by one who was intimately related to the story told. Bishop Sanford served his church in the active ministry in California for fifty-two years, beginning in a missionary parish in the San Joaquin Valley in 1892, and completing thirty-three years as Bishop of San Joaquin in 1944, when he retired. For fourteen years he was President of the Province of the Pacific, and was a member of the Province from its beginning. This history was authorized by the Provincial Council and is published by the Church Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The book gives an intimate glimpse of the development of the Province in the Pacific and mountain area, and brief pen portraits of a number of outstanding personalities. The first chapter, *Provinces: Ancient and Modern*, was written by Bishop Edward Lambe Parsons; after which Bishop Sanford takes up the development of the provincial idea in the Episcopal Church in the United States, "a new departure for the Episcopal Church," and the adoption of the provincial system in 1913. The later chapters trace the history of the Province of the Pacific.

The story is well told and gives a clear picture of the organizational development of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The first proposal to establish provinces was made in 1850, but apparently there was considerable misgiving about the proposal, and little effective attention was given to it for a number of years. It was not until 1901 that the provincial system was written into the constitution of the church, and thirteen years later before the organization of the first province. The reasons for this slow evolution of the provincial organization are set forth succinctly by Bishop Sanford, and also the facilitation of this evolution by the practical necessities of the promotional work of the missionary program of the church.

The Primary Synod of the Province of the Pacific met in Oakland, California, in August, 1915. Bishop William Ford Nichols of California was elected President of the Province, and the organization of the Province was effected. The development of the Province and the changes in the ordinances, etc., are traced, and also the relation of the Province to the Church Divinity School, and the Deaconess Training School. Two helpful appendices are included in the book, *A Table of Provincial Synods and The Provincial Episcopate*, and there is an excellent index.

The book is concerned chiefly with the development of an ecclesiastical organization, but it has warmth and human interest often lacking in such a story. Here is the record of "the lives of many truly great and devoted people." It is an important chapter in the history of the Church in the Far West, and it is a source of satisfaction that Bishop Sanford was enabled to complete the work before his death, which occurred only eleven days after the manuscript had been dispatched to the publishers.

Berkeley Baptist Divinity School.

Sandford Fleming.

SERVICE FOR PEACE

By MELVIN GINGRICH. Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949. Pp. 508. \$3.00.

In a time when the memoirs of war leaders and heroic accounts of victories on land and sea and in the air are winning the interest of the reading public, it is just and timely that the record of another group be published, for whom the war years were "Their Finest Hour." This group consists of those who by compulsion of conscience affirmed their inability to bear arms in the service of their country. Of the 12,000 COs in America, 38% or 4,665 were Mennonites. This book is dedicated to tell the story of American Mennonites as they confronted government and sought to reconcile their loyalties to Caesar and to God. Out of these circumstances Civilian Public Service emerged, and this study painstakingly relates how

CPS came into being, how the camps were supervised and administered by the Mennonite Central Committee and what was actually accomplished.

In 1920 seven Mennonite churches joined in the Mennonite Central Committee which was organized to provide relief for their distressed brethren in Europe. As the war clouds began to gather, they recalled their bitter experiences and their "negative ministry" during War I. Besides there was a new consciousness of their role as "peace churches," which they announced independently and in conjunction with Friends and Dunkers. Concertedly and in conference with government, provisions for the CO were written into the selective service laws. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors, composed of representatives of the peace churches and a few other groups, became the intermediary between Selective Service and the Mennonite Central Committee.

By their own decision in December 1940, and with the permission of the government, the Mennonites assumed responsibility for the administration and the financing of these camps for the COs. Thus these churches had a program that gave them control of the men after the project working hours.

Unrhetorically and unemotionally this book reports CPS work in soil conservation, forest and park service, reclamation, in agriculture, in public health and in mental hospitals. Two chapters are devoted to the educational programs maintained in the camps. One chapter relates how the Mennonites collected more than \$3,000,000 for the maintenance of the CPS program, providing not only for the Mennonite objectors, but also for those with other denominational affiliations. The chapter on religion in the camps frankly discloses that these camps were not antechambers of heaven: some COs were averse to Mennonite religious norms and practices; some conservative Mennonites were disposed to shun their more liberal brethren; beside all this was the normal incompatibility of people, enhanced by the tensions of camp life and the tensions of the times.

With commendable integrity and justice the values and the weaknesses of the program are set forth (p. 407). Despite the limitations of the CPS program the author correctly declares that the program with its opportunity for a "positive witness" was far superior to anything offered the CO during the first World War.

This is not a book that will be widely read. There are many details in it that will not concern an average reader, but the value of the study as a reference book is thereby enhanced. Besides an extensive index to the book, there are twenty-three appendices which include important correspondence between Mennonites and the Washington government, a classification of COs by denominations, a break-down of the 2,296,175 man-days consumed in the 933 projects, a list of staff personnel, camp papers, camp casualties, and the report of an extensive CPS questionnaire gleaned from men participating in the program.

Paul H. Eller.

Evangelical Theological Seminary.

BOOK NOTICES

LANCELOT ANDREWES, *Private Devotions*, trans. John Henry Newman (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949), pp. xii, 146, \$1.25.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED, *Four Essays* (Milwaukee, 1949), pp. 69, \$1.00. Catholic aspects of the War for Independence, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the War with Spain.

VERGILIUS FERM, ED., *Forgotten Religions* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), pp. 392, \$7.50. From the religion of ancient Egypt to the religions of the American Indians.

H. A. GUY, *Landmarks in the Story of Christianity*. (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 168, \$1.25.

A. K. E. HOLMIO, *The Lutheran Reformation and the Jews: the Birth of Protestant Jewish Missions*. (Hancock, Michigan: Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1949), pp. 218, \$3.00.

AMOS KENDALL, *Autobiography*. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), pp. 700, \$7.50. Reprint of the edition of 1878. Journalist, Postmaster General, intimate friend of Clay, most potent member of Jackson's "kitchen cabinet," business manager of S. F. B. Morse, Kendall was also an active churchman. He taught Sunday School, was an early leader of the Y.M.C.A., founded Gallaudet College, and was involved in most of the religious and reform movements of his time (1789-1869). Harriet Martineau called him a great genius.

The Lambeth Conferences (1867-1948): The Reports of the 1920, 1930, and 1948 Conferences, with Selected Resolutions from the Earlier Conferences. (London: S. P. C. K., 1948 and New York: Macmillan, 1950), \$3.50.

H. ERNEST ROBERTS, *Medieval Monasteries and Minsters*. (London: S.P.C.K., 1949 and New York: Macmillan, 1950), pp. 160, \$2.50.

A. J. TOMLINSON, *Diary* (9305 224th St., Queen's Village 8, New York: Church of God, 1949), pp. 267, \$3.00. A personal account of his role as founder of "the Pentecostal, Holiness, Church of God Movement" to 1923, when he lost control and began over again to build "a far greater church a second time."

FRANK S. BREWER PRIZE, 1949

The American Society of Church History is happy to announce that the Brewer Prize for 1949 is awarded to Ira V. Brown for his manuscript, "Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist: A Study in Religious Opinions." There will be no Brewer Prize Award in 1950.

Raymond W. Albright, *Secretary*,
1524 Palm St.,
Reading, Pa.

IMPORTANT NOTICES TO MEMBERS

With this issue, *Church History* returns to the practice of publishing three articles. By 1951 the journal will have bibliographical features not matched elsewhere. A committee on reorganization and policy has been appointed to develop further plans for the improvement of the journal and the Society. Suggestions from the members will be welcome, and should be sent to Professor James Hastings Nichols, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Members can be of real help to the Society by contributing or selling to the Society their copies of the issues of numbers out of stock as of March 1950:

Vol II-1933: No copies of September, No. 3; December No. 4. Vol. IV-1935: One copy of September, No. 3. Vol. V-1936: No copies of March, No. 1; September, No. 3. Vol. VI-1937: No copies of March, No. 1. Vol. VII-1938: No copies of June, No. 2; four of September, No. 3; five of December, No. 4. Vol. IX-1940: No copies of December, No. 4. Vol. XV-1946: No copies of March, No. 1; December, No. 4.

Since the supply of these issues has been exhausted, it is only by the cooperation of the members that the Society can provide libraries with back files. Copies of these issues should be sent to Dr. Robert Hastings Nichols, 21 Claremont Ave., New York 27, N. Y.



